A TEXT BOOK OF MODERN
EUROPEAN HISTORY
1789-1945

BY
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Illustrated with 39 maps

REVISED EDITION

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CONTINENTAL RULERS

HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

Emperors:

Joseph II	1765–1790
Leopold II	1790–1792
Francis II	1792–1806

AUSTRIA

Emperors:

Francis I	1804–1835
Ferdinand I	1835–1848
Francis Joseph	1848–1916
Karl	1916–1918

Presidents:

Karl Seitz	1918–1920
Michael Hainisch	1920–1928
Wilhelm Miklas	1928–1938
(Annexed to Germany, 1938–1945)	
Karl Renner	1945–

PRUSSIA

Kings:

Frederick II	1740–1786
Frederick William II	1786–1797
Frederick William III	1797–1840
Frederick William IV	1840–1861
William I	1861–1888
Frederick III	1888
William II	1888–1918

GERMANY

Emperors:

William I	1871–1888
Frederick	1888
William II	1888–1918

Presidents:

Friedrich Ebert	1919–1925
Paul von Hindenburg	1925–1934

Führer:

Adolf Hitler	1933–1945

FRANCE

KING (Bourbon):	
Louis XVI	1774–1792
FIRST REPUBLIC	1792–1804
CONSULATE:	
First Consul: Bonaparte	1799–1804
FIRST EMPIRE:	
Emperor: Napoleon I	1804–1814 *and* March–June 1815
KINGS (Bourbon):	
Louis XVIII	1814–1824 *except* March–June 1815
Charles X	1824–1830
KING (Orleans):	
Louis Philippe	1830–1848
SECOND REPUBLIC:	
President: Louis Napoleon Bonaparte	1848–1852
SECOND EMPIRE:	
Emperor: Napoleon III	1852–1870
THIRD REPUBLIC:	
Presidents:	
Louis Adolphe Thiers	1871–1873
Marie Edmé Patrice MacMahon	1873–1879
Jules Grévy	1879–1887
Marie François Sadi Carnot	1887–1894
Jean Casimir-Périer	1894–1895
Félix Faure	1895–1899
Émile Loubet	1899–1906
Armand Fallières	1906–1913
Raymond Poincaré	1913–1920
Paul Deschanel	1920
Alexandre Millerand	1920–1924
Gaston Doumergue	1924–1931
Paul Doumer	1931–1932
Albert Lebrun	1932–1940
GERMAN OCCUPATION	1940–1944
FOURTH REPUBLIC:	
Presidents:	
Vincent Auriol	1947–1954
René Coty	1954–

BELGIUM

KINGS:	
Leopold I	1831–1865
Leopold II	1865–1909
Albert I	1909–1934
Leopold III	1934–1951
Baudouin	1951–

SARDINIA

KINGS:

Victor Amadeus III	1773–1796
Charles Emmanuel IV	1796–1802
Victor Emmanuel I	1802–1821
Charles Felix	1821–1831
Charles Albert	1831–1849
Victor Emmanuel II	1849–1861

ITALY

KINGS:

Victor Emmanuel II	1861–1878
Humbert I	1878–1900
Victor Emmanuel III	1900–1946
Humbert II	1946

(Republic since 1946)

THE TWO SICILIES

KINGS (Bourbon):

Ferdinand I	1759–1825
Francis I	1825–1830
Ferdinand II	1830–1859
Francis II	1859–1860

NAPLES ONLY

KINGS (Bonapartist):

Joseph Bonaparte	1806–1808
Joachim Murat	1808–1814

SWEDEN

KINGS:

Gustavus III	1771–1792
Gustavus IV	1792–1809
Charles XIII	1809–1818
Charles XIV (Bernadotte)	1818–1844
Oscar I	1844–1859
Charles XV	1859–1872
Oscar II	1872–1907
Gustavus V	1907–1950
Gustavus VI	1950–

NORWAY

KINGS:

Haakon VII	1905–1957
Olaf V	1957–

DENMARK

KINGS:

Christian VII	1766–1808
Frederick VI	1808–1839

DENMARK—*continued*

KINGS—*continued:*

Christian VIII	1839–1848
Frederick VII	1848–1863
Christian IX	1863–1906
Frederick VIII	1906–1912
Christian X	1912–1947
Frederick IX	1947–

SPAIN

KINGS:

Charles IV (Bourbon)	1788–1808
Joseph (Bonaparte)	1808–1814
Ferdinand VII (Bourbon)	1814–1833
Isabella II (Bourbon)	1833–1868
(Interregnum 1868–1870)	
Amadeo (Savoy)	1870–1873
(Republic 1873–1874)	
Alfonso XII (Bourbon)	1874–1885
Alfonso XIII (Bourbon)	1886–1931
(Republic 1931–1938)	

DICTATOR:

Francisco Franco	1938–

PORTUGAL

KINGS:

Maria I	1777–1816
John VI	1816–1826
Pedro IV	1826
Maria II	1826–1828
Miguel	1828–1834
Maria II (restored)	1834–1853
Pedro V	1853–1861
Luis I	1861–1889
Carlos I	1889–1908
Manoel II	1908–1910
(Republic since 1910)	

THE NETHERLANDS

STADTHOLDER:

William V	1751–1795
(Batavian Republic, 1795–1806)	

KINGS:

Louis Bonaparte	1806–1809
(Annexed to France, 1809–1814)	
William I	1814–1840
William II	1840–1849
William III	1849–1890
Wilhelmina	1890–1948
Juliana	1948–

GREECE

Kings:

Otto I	1832–1862
George I	1863–1913
Constantine I	1913–1917

(Republic, 1917–1920)

Constantine I (restored)	1920–1922
George II	1922–1923

Regent:

Kondouriotis	1923–1924

(Republic, 1924–1935)

Presidents:

Kondouriotis	1924–1925
Pangalos	March–August 1925
Kondouriotis	1925–1929
Zaimis	1929–1935

Kings:

George II (restored)	1935–1947
Paul I	1947–

TURKEY

Sultans:

Abdul Hamid I	1774–1789
Selim III	1789–1807
Mustapha IV	1807–1808
Mahmoud II	1808–1839
Abdul Medjid I	1839–1861
Abdul Aziz	1861–1876
Murad V	1876
Abdul Hamid II	1876–1909
Mohammed V	1909–1917
Mohammed VI	1917–1922
Abdul Medjid II	1922

(Republic since 1923)

Presidents:

Ghazi Mustapha Kemal Ataturk	1923–1938
Ismet Inönu	1938–1950
Celal Bayar	1950–

ROUMANIA

Princes:

Alexander John (Couza) I	1859–1866
Carol I (Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen)	1866–1881

Kings:

Carol I	1881–1914
Ferdinand	1914–1927
Michael	1927–1930
Carol II	1930–1940
Michael (restored)	1940–1947

(Republic since 1947)

BULGARIA

PRINCES:

Alexander (Battenberg)	1879–1886
Ferdinand (Saxe-Coburg)	1887–1908

KINGS:

Ferdinand	1908–1918
Boris III	1918–1943
Simeon II	1943–1946

(Republic since 1946)

SERBIA

(YUGOSLAVIA since 1919)

PRINCES:

Milosh (Obrenovitch)	1817–1839
Milan (Obrenovitch)	1839
Michael (Obrenovitch)	1839–1842
Alexander (Karageorgevitch)	1842–1858
Milosh (restored)	1858–1860
Michael (restored)	1860–1868
Milan (Obrenovitch)	1868–1882

KINGS:

Milan (Obrenovitch)	1882–1889
Alexander (Obrenovitch)	1889–1903
Peter (Karageorgevitch)	1903–1921
Alexander (Karageorgevitch)	1921–1934
Peter (Karageorgevitch)	1934–1945

(Republic since 1945)

RUSSIA

TSARS:

Catherine II (Tsaritsa)	1762–1796
Paul	1796–1801
Alexander I	1801–1825
Nicholas I	1825–1855
Alexander II	1855–1881
Alexander III	1881–1894
Nicholas II	1894–1917

(Union of Socialist Soviet Republics since 1917)

POPES

Pius VI (Braschi)	1775–1800
Pius VII (Chiaramonte)	1800–1823
Leo XII (Della Genga)	1823–1829
Pius VIII (Castiglioni)	1829–1830
Gregory XVI (Cappellari)	1831–1846
Pius IX (Ferretti)	1846–1878
Leo XIII (Pecci)	1878–1903
Pius X (Sarto)	1903–1914
Benedict XV (Della Chiesa)	1914–1922
Pius XI (Ratti)	1922–1939
Pius XII (Pacelli)	1939–

INTRODUCTION

EUROPE IN 1789

MANY important changes have been made in the boundaries of the chief countries of Europe since 1789. Some states which were then large and important have ceased to exist, and some new states have been established. It is necessary, therefore, before the study of modern European history is undertaken, to consider the condition of the continent in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

The Holy Roman Empire, which still claimed to be the successor of the Empire of the Cæsars, covered a large area roughly equivalent to modern Germany, but including Belgium, Austria, and Czechoslovakia, and excluding the eastern part of Prussia. The Empire was composed of over three hundred and fifty separate states, most of which were small and insignificant, though a few were large and important. They were ruled by princes who held various titles. These rulers, who might be kings or dukes, margraves or archbishops, archdukes or landgraves, were independent sovereigns in every essential respect. They were able to wage war, make alliances, coin money, and send and receive ambassadors, and they were not in any real sense subject to the control of the Emperor. The Diet of the Empire, an assembly at which all ruling princes were entitled to be present, in person or by representative, was less a meeting of the nobles of a great state than a congress of the sovereigns of many states. About fifty towns were Free Cities of the Empire; they ranked as states and were represented in the Diet.

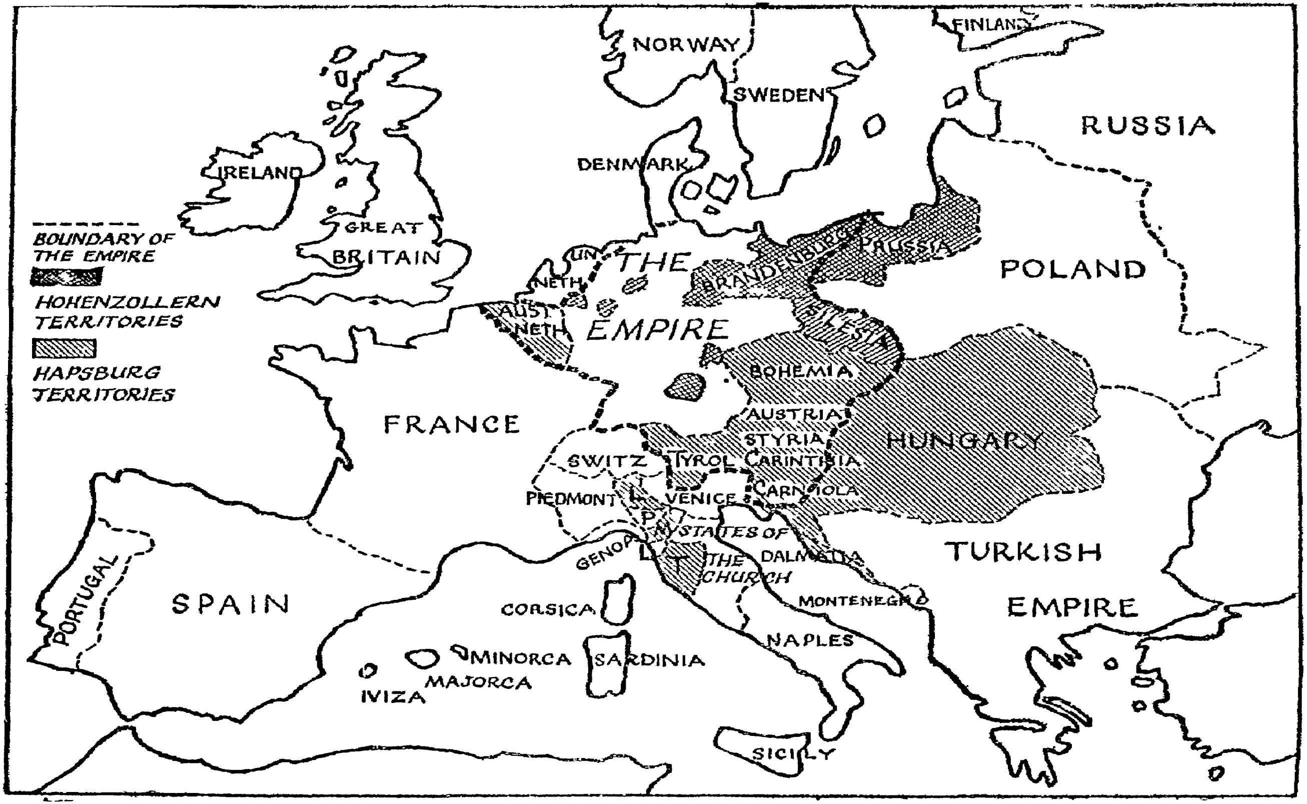
The authority of the Emperor over this motley collection of states had, since the Peace of Westphalia, 1648, been no more than nominal. But in dignity he surpassed all other potentates in the world. He was "Lord of the World," he was recognised as superior in rank to kings, and at every foreign court his ambassador took precedence of the representatives of other monarchs. The position of the Emperor was still in theory elective. In other countries the death of a king was followed by the immediate accession of his heir; in the Empire the death of its supreme head was followed by an interregnum, which lasted until the Electors, at Frankfort, chose his successor. The Electors were important princes of the Empire. Between 1356, when the Imperial constitution was settled by the Golden Bull, and 1648, when the Empire entered upon its final form at Westphalia, they were seven in number. In 1648 an eighth electorate, Bavaria, was established, and in 1692 Hanover was raised to the electoral dignity. (The title of Elector was conferred on the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel in 1803, but although it continued in use it became meaningless after the extinction of the Empire in 1806.) The election of an Emperor had, however, long been no more than a formality. Since 1440 the Electors had not chosen a head of the Empire outside the House of Hapsburg (except on one occasion, and in unusual circumstances, in 1742). The Hapsburgs, if they had not a hereditary right to the Imperial crown, had "a hereditary right to be elected."

Austria and Prussia are usually regarded as having been the two most important states of the Empire in the eighteenth century. The statement is inexact, however, and it would be truer to assert that the two most important ruling families in the Empire were the Hapsburgs and the Hohenzollerns. The Hapsburgs reigned over the Austrian dominions, which included (within the Empire) Austria itself, Bohemia, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, and the Tyrol, besides the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium), and (beyond the Imperial border) Hungary and Lombardy. The Austrian dominions thus included peoples of many races and languages, who could not be regarded as forming an Austrian nation. Nevertheless, the possession of the title of Emperor gave prestige to the sovereign of these scattered provinces, from which, rather than from the Imperial title, he derived his power. The Hohenzollern territories also were scattered, and included, within the Empire, the electorate of Brandenburg, lands on the Rhine, and some other isolated possessions in North Germany, while Prussia itself lay to the east, beyond the Empire. Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns alike aimed at uniting their separated territories in order to weld them into consolidated states. (It may be observed that it was one aim of Hapsburg policy at this time to promote consolidation by bringing about an exchange of the Austrian Netherlands for Bavaria.) The terms "Austria" and "Prussia" may conveniently be used to represent the dominions of these two families, but it should be understood that neither was at this time a consolidated state. During the eighteenth century Austria and Prussia were antagonistic to each other, and a struggle between them began in 1740 and continued for many years. Their rivalry was renewed in the nineteenth century, and was not definitely ended till the Austrians were defeated at Sadowa in 1866.

The boundaries of France in 1789 were almost as they stood in 1945, although they did not remain unchanged in the interval. They were expanded in the time of the French Revolution, and they were extended farther by Napoleon, but at his fall these gains were given up; they suffered contraction in 1871 after the Franco-Prussian War, though the provinces then lost were recovered in 1918. During the eighteenth century France was under the rule of Louis XV and Louis XVI. She engaged in nearly every European war of any importance during the century, and she was involved in a contest with Great Britain for naval, colonial, and commercial supremacy. Serious financial difficulties resulted from these wars, which did not bring to France gains proportionate to her efforts. The Bourbon kings of France and the Hapsburg rulers of Austria had been opposed to each other in European diplomacy and wars for centuries, but in 1756 they formed an alliance against Prussia. Some years later the Dauphin (afterwards Louis XVI) married an Austrian princess, Marie Antoinette, who never succeeded in outliving, in Paris, the unpopularity due to her origin. To the Paris mob during the Revolution she was "l'Autrichienne."

Spain, which in the sixteenth century had been the greatest power in Europe, and which sank almost to insignificance before the end of the seventeenth century, recovered some of her importance during the reign of Philip V (1700–46). After 1700 her kings were of the House of Bourbon, and she took part in most of the eighteenth-century wars as the ally of France and the opponent of Great Britain.

Italy suffered, as she had done for centuries past, from the effects of disunion. The kingdom of Naples and Sicily (otherwise known as the kingdom of the Two Sicilies) occupied the island of Sicily and the southern part of the Italian peninsula, and, like France and Spain, it was ruled by a line of Bourbon kings. The Papal States stretched across central


NORWAY
FINLAND
SWEDEN
RUSSIA
IRELAND
DENMARK
GREAT BRITAIN
BOUNDARY OF THE EMPIRE
HOHENZOLLERN TERRITORIES
HAPSBURG TERRITORIES
UN. NETH.
THE EMPIRE
AUST. NETH.
BRANDENBURG
PRUSSIA
POLAND
SILESIA
BOHEMIA
FRANCE
AUSTRIA
STYRIA
HUNGARY
SWITZ
TYROL
CARINTHIA
CARNIOLA
PIEDMONT
VENICE
P.
STATES OF THE CHURCH
TURKISH EMPIRE
GENOA
DALMATIA
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
CORSICA
MONTENEGRO
NAPLES
MINORCA
SARDINIA
MAJORCA
IVIZA
SICILY

Europe in 1789

Italy and extended northwards as far as the Venetian boundary. West of the States of the Church lay the grand duchy of Tuscany, a Hapsburg possession which was ruled for many years by Leopold, brother of the Emperor Joseph II. Other small states south of the Po were Parma, which was under Bourbon rule, Modena, under a Hapsburg duke, and Lucca, a republic. In the north-east of Italy was the republic of Venice (Venetia), and in the north-west was that of Genoa. North of Genoa lay Piedmont and Savoy, which were ruled by the King of Sardinia. The plain of Lombardy, with the important city of Milan, was under the rule of Austria.

Switzerland consisted of a group of cantons which formed a federation for purposes of defence. Each canton settled its own internal affairs.

Poland, which was enclosed by Prussia, Austria, and Russia, was one of the largest of the countries of Europe. It was also one of the weakest. It was a monarchy, but the crown was elective, and the death of a king was usually the signal for civil war among the candidates for the vacancy. Real power rested with the nobles, who were lawless and selfish, while most of the people were serfs. The country possessed no natural boundaries and was open on all sides to invasion by its powerful neighbours. Had Poland been well organised, and ruled by a line of strong kings, defence would have been difficult; under the conditions actually existing it was impossible. In 1772, by the First Partition, Poland suffered partial dismemberment, each of the three powers on its borders annexing a slice of territory. This was the prelude to the Second and Third Partitions, in 1793 and 1795, by the latter of which Poland ceased, for a century and a quarter, to exist as an independent state.

Russia was backward, but since the reign of Peter the Great she had been open to European influences, and during the eighteenth century she became a factor in European affairs. From 1762 till 1796 she was under the rule of Catherine II, who lost no opportunity of extending her territory and strengthening her power.

The Turkish Empire in Europe covered the Balkan Peninsula, and several Christian races were included within it. It was frequently engaged in war with Austria and Russia, both of which desired to extend their territory at its expense. The power of the Turks declined rapidly during the eighteenth century, and they escaped expulsion from Europe only through the dissensions of their enemies.

Holland was ruled by a stadtholder of the House of Orange. The attempts of William V to extend his power led to his suspension in 1786. His opponents were supported by France, but William allied with Great Britain and Prussia, and the latter state restored him to power. His enemies triumphed in 1795, when the French overran Holland and the Stadtholder had to take refuge in England.

The strongest of the Scandinavian kingdoms was Sweden. It had formerly been an important power, with territories which almost enclosed the Baltic, and of these, besides Sweden itself, it still held the greater part of Finland, to the north-east of the Baltic, and Swedish Pomerania, in the Empire. Gustavus III, King from 1771 to 1792, strengthened his authority at the expense of the nobles, and aimed at recovering certain parts of Finland already lost to Russia. Neither he nor his successors achieved this, however, and during the coming years the aim of Swedish policy was to secure compensation for lost lands by acquiring Norway from Denmark.

The prevailing form of government in most of the states of Europe was absolute monarchy. In some countries there had in time past been assemblies representative of the people, but by the eighteenth century these had either disappeared or become unimportant. Feudalism prevailed nearly everywhere, but though the nobles possessed social privileges they did not as a class share in the work of government. Little attention was paid to the spirit of nationality in the eighteenth century. Peoples of many races and languages were grouped under one ruler; in some cases the people of a single nation were scattered in several states. Until men became conscious of their nationality, until they became proud of the race to which they belonged, it was impossible to set up the principle that a state should contain men of one race and that the whole of a race should form a single state.

The standard of international morality in the eighteenth century was low. Monarchs were greedy for territory, they disregarded rights, they tore up treaties. Good faith was forgotten. By the principle of the Balance of Power, which was supposed to regulate the affairs of Europe, it was held that no one state ought to become so powerful as to be a menace to the safety of the rest, and an undue increase in the power of a state was thought to justify the formation of an alliance against it. But during the eighteenth century the principle was applied to European affairs in a perverted form. A state invited attack on account of its weakness as well as of its strength. The undue weakening of a state tempted its neighbours to make war upon it, and, if they could, to destroy it. When the Emperor Charles VI died, in 1740, the opportunity of attacking and dismembering the Austrian dominions seemed to have come, and, although Austria under Maria Theresa showed unexpected vigour in meeting the danger, the province of Silesia was permanently transferred to Prussia. The weakness of Poland and the consequent partitions have been referred to. The revolt of the American colonies of Great Britain seemed for a time to offer to the rest of Europe a chance to destroy the British Empire. The designs of Russia and Austria against Turkey had little other reason than Turkish weakness.

The population of Europe was mainly rural, living in villages and small towns, and was engaged chiefly in agriculture. In most countries rural society consisted of two definitely contrasted classes—lords and peasants. The lords still possessed feudal privileges and exemptions which their ancestors had held for centuries. The peasants in most parts of central and eastern Europe were still serfs, bound by law or custom to devote a large part of their time to the cultivation of the lands of their lords. Even where, as in the greater part of France, serfdom had ceased to exist, the peasants were heavily burdened by the weight of royal taxation, of dues to the nobles, and of tithes payable to the Church. The lord possessed the sole right of hunting and fishing, and he alone was permitted to preserve game.

Agriculture was in a backward state. Open-field cultivation, with its system of fallows, by which a field was left untilled every second or third year, prevailed throughout the continent. The rotation of crops was simple, and there was little effort to manure the land. There was no scientific breeding of farm stock, and the animals were ill-fed and subject to the ravages of disease.

Only in the towns was a middle class to be found. This consisted of prosperous traders who were in many cases equal to the nobles in wealth, though far inferior to them in social position. Industry in the towns was still controlled by gilds, and was carried on by hand or by means of machines worked by hand. In the country the peasants who were engaged in agriculture spent part of their time in textile work, which was carried on in the cottages. But industry in both town and country was restricted by a host of vexatious regulations, and trade was hindered by the existence of customs barriers at every provincial frontier.

Great Britain differed in all essential respects from the mainland powers. Serfdom had been extinct for centuries, there was no "privileged" class, and constitutional government was firmly established. The union of England and Scotland in 1707 had, to a quite remarkable extent, added to their strength, and Great Britain had been able to engage with success in a struggle with France and Spain for colonial empire. The loss of the American colonies dimmed British prestige only temporarily, and the vast industrial changes which began in Great Britain in the latter part of the eighteenth century were making her the wealthiest country in the world.

During the century an intellectual movement developed, in western Europe, in favour of reform. Philosophers and satirists wrote against the evils of society in their time, and men of high and low estate alike became conscious that change was needed. The tendency of this movement was to cast ridicule upon the existing structure of society, upon the system under which peasants toiled while lords without duties possessed privileges and priests without piety enjoyed great wealth. The philosophers did not, as a rule, attack monarchy as an institution. They were not democratic; they were unable to look forward to a time when national affairs would be controlled by the elected representatives of the people. If reforms were to be effected, it was expected that they would be carried out by the kings, and not the peoples, of Europe.

This philosophical view was accepted by many of the monarchs of this time. Such rulers as Frederick the Great of Prussia, the Emperor Joseph II, the Empress Catherine II of Russia, Charles III of Spain, and Charles Emmanuel III of Sardinia were active in promoting schemes for the prosperity of their subjects. These and other monarchs of the time were the Benevolent Despots. But, although they tried to improve the condition of their people, they made no attempt to consult the wishes of the people. They acted in accordance with the principle of "Government for the people, but not by the people." It never occurred to them that any other type of government was possible. They were for the most part well-meaning, but they did not accomplish a great deal. The history of the revolutionary period and of the nineteenth century in Europe was to show that more drastic changes were required than the Benevolent Despots were prepared to make, and that permanent reform was to result from the efforts of peoples rather than of monarchs.

CHAPTER I

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

MANY causes combined to bring about the great uprising of the French people in the year 1789. The peasants, except a few in the east and north-east of France, were no longer serfs, but they lived in a state of extreme poverty and misery. Their depressed condition was due to the backward state of agriculture and to the weight of the taxes and dues which they were called upon to pay. The nobles were much more numerous in France than in England, and included men who in this country would be regarded merely as country squires. They were exempt from most of the taxation and from compulsory military service, which were burdens borne only by the peasants. They possessed privileges which were denied to the lower orders. They alone were permitted to hunt and to fish, and to keep doves and to shoot; they levied tolls on the roads and in the market-places, and they possessed authority to enforce in their courts the obligations of the peasants who lived on their estates. The villagers were compelled to grind their corn at the lord's mill, to press their grapes in his wine-press, to kill their cattle in his slaughter-house, and to bake their bread in his oven, and they had to pay dues to him whenever mill or wine-press or slaughter-house or oven was used.

In Great Britain the country gentlemen had no such privileges; moreover, they lived on their estates for at least a large part of the year, they knew the folk who lived near them, and they were generally well disposed towards them, so that kindly relations existed between rich and poor throughout the countryside. In France, on the other hand, the nobles were harsh and overbearing and were jealous of the maintenance of their privileges; many of them lived at court instead of on their estates, the management of which was left to their bailiffs, and, while the lord despised the peasant, the peasant hated the lord. In the latter part of the eighteenth century the practice sprang up of great nobles spending some months every year upon their estates. But what was in Great Britain an ingrained custom was in France no more than a matter of fashion, and it developed too late to improve the relations between noble and peasant.

In former times the provinces of France had enjoyed a good deal of liberty in the management of their own affairs, but the policy of the Bourbon kings had been to concentrate the work of government in their own hands. Government, besides being despotic, was highly centralised. Local liberties disappeared, and the King's Council at Versailles directed matters great and small. Local officials were left without authority to settle even petty affairs, such as the repair of a bridge or the sinking of a village well. Such trifles were referred to the Council for approval; consequently, that body was overwhelmed with work, delays occurred, and decisions were often announced too late to be of use. The Government was not tyrannical, and it wished to rule for the benefit of the people, but, through the volume of its business, it was inefficient.

In finance, as in many other respects, the Government of France had been going from bad to worse during the eighteenth century. France had been engaged upon a series of great wars, and she staggered under the burden of a huge national debt. No statesman of the type of Walpole had been found to put French finances in order and to increase prosperity by developing trade, and no effort was made to curb the extravagance of the Government and the court. Taxation was heavy, and was collected under the worst possible system. The Government did not itself gather the taxes, but it levied them and sold the right of collection to financiers, called farmers; these men naturally extorted from the people more than they paid to the state for the privilege, and, as they worked through agents and sub-agents whose operations were carried on upon the same principle, the unfortunate peasants paid far more than was received by the Government. Nor was the financial system uniform throughout the country. The weight of indirect taxes varied from province to province, while customs duties were charged at provincial frontiers as well as at national borders.

In the eighteenth century France possessed no Parliament to voice the needs of the nation. There were, indeed, at Paris and in certain provincial towns, bodies called Parlements, but they were courts of justice and were in no way similar to the

British Parliament. In earlier times the legislative body called the States-General had met from time to time, but it had not been called together since 1614. The Parlements claimed the right to register, and to refuse to register, royal edicts, and so to exercise some check on royal despotism. In practice a determined king was able to overcome the opposition of the Parlements, which, indeed, were rarely moved to act against the Crown unless their own privileges were threatened.

The strong contrast which existed between British and French institutions did not escape the notice of French writers. Montesquieu, in the earlier part of the eighteenth century, lived for some time in England, and on his return to France he expounded to his countrymen the superiority of the British constitution, the essential feature of which he thought to be the separation of powers, legislative, executive, and judicial. In the middle of the century an *Encyclopædia* was published, which was supposed to contain a complete account of human knowledge at the time, and in its political articles it unsparingly condemned the state of affairs in France. Voltaire was a brilliant satirist who, in a series of poems, essays, and other works, criticised the institutions of his time. He regarded the Church as a barrier to human progress, and he exposed the absurdity of feudal privileges. He taught his followers to apply reason rather than tradition as a test of established institutions, and to condemn those which failed to justify themselves when judged in this way. He followed Montesquieu in his approval of the British constitution, regarding British financial strength and success in war as proof of the soundness of the British system of limited monarchy. Voltaire, however, was no democrat. He had no faith in the ability of the people to devise reforms, and he looked to the Crown to bring about those drastic changes which he thought to be necessary. Rousseau regarded civilised society as based on a "social contract." He thought that in the remote past men had lived in a state of nature and that they had come to an agreement to live together under a government in order that life and property might be protected. The existing contract he thought to be unfair, as it favoured the privileged classes unduly, and he advocated a "return to nature" and the formation of a new and more satisfactory contract. The followers of Rousseau, therefore, became extreme revolutionaries who wanted to abolish French institutions as completely as possible and to build them up again from the beginning. His ideas exercised very great influence throughout France and profoundly affected the course of events during the Revolution.

The lesson of American independence was not lost upon the French. French volunteers had fought in America itself, and the example of a people struggling against tyranny of so slight a character was not without effect upon their allies. The Irish, too, who for a century had been suffering under restrictions far more irksome than any which had been applied to the Americans, secured a large measure of relief between 1779 and 1782, and again the example was not lost upon the French.

Although things had been bad for a long time they might have gone on for some time longer had not a crisis been reached. By 1787 the financial position of the French Government was desperate. The treasury was empty, taxation could be increased no more, loans could no longer be raised. France, in fact, was bankrupt. Only one remedy appeared to be possible—that the nobles, who hitherto had been exempt from the bulk of taxation, should surrender their privilege and shoulder part of the national burden. But the nobles were unwilling to do this, and Louis XVI decided to summon the States-General.

This body, which had not met for a century and three-quarters, assembled at Versailles in May, 1789. It contained delegates representative of the nobles, the clergy, and the common people (the third estate). It certainly did not meet with the intention of overthrowing the Government of France and destroying the monarchy and nobility, but it expected to be called upon to sanction reforms which would enable the Government to be carried on more smoothly and satisfactorily, and which would restore order in the finances. If the Government had been prepared to present to the States-General a scheme for reform there is little doubt that that body would have discussed it, perhaps modified it, and then adopted it. But the Government was not ready; it gave no lead to the States-General, and the first two months were spent in discussing whether the three orders of nobles, clergy, and third estate should sit separately or together. Through the determination of the third estate the other two orders were compelled to give way, and by the end of June the States-General had decided to sit as one body and had begun to call itself the National Assembly. The first step towards revolution had been taken.

Meanwhile the Paris mob was active. The city was crowded with refugees from the nearer provinces, where, owing to the failure of the harvest of 1788, famine threatened. The streets were filled with poverty-stricken people who were hoping for much from the Assembly. They soon became impatient of its debates, and were ready to take independent action against the Government. The Bastille, a great prison in Paris, was popularly supposed to be filled with state prisoners, and on 14th July, 1789, the mob attacked it and, despite the resistance of the guard, captured it. Only about half a dozen prisoners were found within it, but the taking of the Bastille was felt to be the symbol of the overthrow of the *ancien régime*, the old system of government in France. For the purpose of protecting property in the city from pillage, a citizen army, known as the National Guard, was organised in Paris and was placed under the command of Lafayette.

The Assembly at Versailles continued its debates, and on one memorable day, 4th August, 1789, it decided upon the abolition of all traces of serfdom and of all noble privileges. But the mob in Paris was still on the verge of starvation, and it was commonly supposed that food was plentiful in Versailles, where the court was in residence. Early in October a crowd of women marched from Paris to Versailles, where they swarmed into the palace and forced the King and Queen to accompany them back to Paris. The National Assembly also moved to Paris, and for the next year or two it was occupied in making reforms and drawing up a new constitution for France. The old provinces of the kingdom were replaced by departments, which were divided into districts (*arrondissements*), these into cantons, and these again into communes. This new system of areas of local government survived all later revolutionary changes and exists in France at the present day. To meet pressing financial needs the Assembly confiscated the property of the Church and ordered it to be sold. The Church was reorganised as a department of the state. No change was made in its doctrine or ritual, but all bishops and priests were required to swear obedience to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, which converted them into officials with salaries fixed and paid by the state. Many refused to do so; they were not removed from their posts at once, however, and for some time both constitutional and non-juring priests continued to exercise their functions. A new system of taxation was established, but was enforced with difficulty. The Assembly discovered that reforms could not be carried through without heavy expenditure, and, as taxation was unpopular, paper money was printed and was issued in such excessive quantities that in course of time it became practically valueless. Much of the work of the Assembly was done in public, since outsiders were admitted to its meetings, and its decisions were influenced by the clamour of the mob.

The King disliked much of the work of the Assembly, and it was only with great reluctance that he consented to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. He wished to leave Paris and pass the Easter of 1791 at St. Cloud in order to avoid the ministrations of the constitutional clergy in the capital, but he was prevented by the mob from leaving the Tuileries. He felt henceforth that he was a prisoner in Paris, and he determined to escape. Plans for a flight were made, and the King and Queen actually reached Varennes, within a short distance of the frontier, before they were overtaken and compelled to return. The flight was treated officially as an "abduction," and the King was allowed to remain at the head of affairs, though for a time he was little better than a prisoner.

The Assembly, which by this time was commonly called the Constituent Assembly, continued its work of constitution-making. The King's power was very much reduced; laws were to be made and taxes levied only by the Assembly. By September, 1791, the constitution was completed and was placed before the King for approval or rejection. He accepted it, and the Constituent Assembly, after passing a decree that none of its members was to be elected to the new Assembly, was dissolved.

The Legislative Assembly was elected in 1791, and, although many of the deputies were moderate men who did not wish the Revolution to go farther, the Assembly contained a group of pronounced revolutionaries known as Girondins, from the fact that some of their number represented the department of the Gironde. At heart they preferred a republic to the monarchy, and they hoped that France would become involved in war in order that the nation might become united and enthusiastic in defence of the Revolution.

Friction developed between the Legislative Assembly and the King. Since the early days of the Revolution many nobles had fled abroad—some to England, but many into the Empire. It was the aim of these *émigrés*, among whom were the Counts of Provence and Artois, the King's brothers, to induce foreign powers to intervene in French affairs with a view to suppressing the Revolution and re-establishing the King's authority. The Assembly threatened the *émigrés* who remained near the frontiers of France with forfeiture of their lands and with death, but the King vetoed the decree. He vetoed another decree of the Assembly directed against the non-juring clergy, who were causing trouble in various parts of France. These and other causes of disagreement between King and Assembly indicated that the new constitution was not working well.

In the spring of 1792 war was declared against Austria and Prussia, and although this was done on the King's proposal he was believed to be secretly in sympathy with the enemies of France. This belief was strengthened by a declaration of the Duke of Brunswick, commander of the Prussian army, that he would punish the city of Paris if any injury or insult were offered to the King. On 10th August the King was suspended from his functions, and, when the Parisians learned that French soil was invaded and that some victories had been won by the enemy, panic prevailed. Early in September the mob broke into the prisons of Paris, and some hundreds of Royalist prisoners were massacred. In the same month the Legislative Assembly was dissolved and was followed by the Convention. The King was deposed, and France became a republic.

During the first weeks of its existence the Convention was the scene of a struggle for power between the Girondins and their more extreme rivals, the Jacobins. The organisation of the Jacobin party was far more thorough and complete than that of any other group in French politics at this time. The Jacobin club had been established in the early days of the Revolution; it was so called because it met on the premises of a former Jacobin convent. Hundreds of provincial clubs were formed and affiliated with the parent body. When the Jacobin club in Paris decided upon a line of policy or a course of action it secured the support of the provincial clubs, and resolutions passed by them were sent to Paris. This organisation of opinion gave the Jacobins greater influence than might have been expected from their numbers alone. There was little difference of principle between Jacobins and Girondins. The Girondins were more refined than their rivals, and held higher ideals; the Jacobins, on the other hand, relied for the success of their cause on brute force, as represented by the people of the capital. From the first the Girondins were at the disadvantage that their real support lay in distant provinces and was not so well organised as was that of their rivals; the Jacobins were aided by the municipal council of Paris, and they were applauded by the mob.

The struggle between the parties occurred over the trial of Louis XVI, who was charged with intriguing with foreign powers against France. In this the Jacobins were successful, and the King was condemned to death, though by a majority of only one vote. The Girondins did not really wish for the King's death, but voted for it in order to bid for Parisian support and to clear themselves of all suspicion of lukewarmness in the cause of the Revolution. Louis was a simple, well-meaning King who certainly was not responsible for the evil plight of France in his time, though it is not unlikely that he was in sympathy and even in communication with the invaders of his country. He suffered for the faults of his predecessors, who, by their wars, their misgovernment, and their extravagance had brought French affairs to such a condition that the Revolution was inevitable.

The death of the King was a victory for the Jacobins. The Girondins might have recovered their influence if the war had been attended with success, but the defeats suffered by the French in the Netherlands and elsewhere in the early months of 1793 increased their unpopularity, and at the end of May the Paris mob broke into the Convention and a number of Girondin deputies were arrested.

The Jacobins completed their triumph over their rivals by the organisation of the Terror. The Terror was based on the principle that in the national emergency treachery should be punished, and that the whole nation would be inspired to a desperate courage against the enemy if it felt that there was no possibility of its efforts being brought to naught by traitors in the rear. A Committee of Public Safety and a Revolutionary Tribunal acted against suspects in Paris, while the Terror was spread to the provinces by "Deputies on Mission." Hundreds of suspected persons were hurried off to execution after trials in which there was no possibility of acquittal. In October, 1793, Marie Antoinette, who had been subject to every indignity and insult while in prison, was brought to the guillotine. At first the victims of the terror were aristocrats and priests, men and women who were known to be supporters of the *ancien régime*, but as the supply of noble victims ceased others were found. Wealthy men were accused in order that their fortunes might fall into the hands of the revolutionaries. In course of time some of those who had inspired the Terror became its victims. Danton, who had been a prominent figure in the Revolution since its outbreak, was guillotined, and Robespierre, who became the leader of the Terrorists after Danton, was overthrown and put to death.

While this was going on churches were closed and the practice of the Christian religion was restricted, and in its place the worship of Reason was established, Notre-Dame becoming a Temple of Reason. The use of the calendar, which was associated with the Christian religion, since the years were numbered from the birth of Christ, was discontinued, and a new calendar was drawn up. In the republican calendar the years were numbered from the establishment of the republic; months were named after natural processes and were subdivided into periods of ten days. But people in all parts of France continued to reckon by the old calendar; its successor was used chiefly in legal documents and official announcements. Its use was discontinued in 1806, shortly after the establishment of the Empire.

The orgy of bloodshed died down in course of time, and reaction succeeded the Terror. Whatever justification might have existed for it while the country was in danger and the aristocrats were suspected of being in league with its enemies had long since ceased. The Revolutionary Tribunal and the Committee of Public Safety were reorganised, and trials (chiefly of former Terrorists) became fewer and fairer. The Jacobin club was closed, and the Convention, which had exerted little authority over the Terrorists, recovered control of the government of France.

While the Terror was proceeding a good deal of useful work was accomplished by the Convention. A system of education was planned, and laws were modernised and codified—a task which was completed by Bonaparte as First Consul. The metric system of weights and measures was introduced, and attention was given to the relief of the poor and to the condition of agriculture.

In 1795 the Convention drew up a new constitution for France. It was felt that some safeguard ought to be introduced against a repetition of the Terror and the overthrow of the constitution by a small group, as had been done in 1793-4. This might best be done by a division of authority, and by the new constitution the country was to be ruled by a Directory of five members, who were to hold office for five years, one Director retiring each year. The Legislature (unlike the three bodies which had existed between 1789 and 1795) was to consist of two chambers, one of which, the Council of Five Hundred, was to propose legislation which the other, the Council of Ancients, was to accept or reject. Since it was feared that the Royalists might gain a majority in the Councils it was further ordered that two-thirds of their members should be selected from the members of the Convention; the election of a majority of Royalists was thus rendered impossible.

The new constitution was accepted by the people of France by a referendum in which few took the trouble to vote. The "Law of Two-Thirds" was unpopular in Paris, however, and the people launched an attack upon the Tuileries, where the Convention was sitting. But the Convention was ready for the attack, and a body of troops, with field guns and under the command of General Bonaparte, repulsed the crowd with a "whiff of grapeshot." The effect of the incident was remarkable. The mob, which for years had been a factor in determining the course of events, was dispersed, and lost its political importance. It is not too much to assert that the Revolution was over. With the establishment of the Directory constitutional government seemed to be restored, a fact recognised even by the enemies of France.

The rule of the Directory lasted four years. It was neither popular nor efficient. It was unable to cope with provincial risings or with the revival of Royalist feeling, or to prevent the renewal of Christian worship. It was afraid of brilliant generals such as Bonaparte and sent them on expeditions abroad. It was corrupt and weak. The early defeats of the French in the war with the Second Coalition brought matters to a head. The need for a stronger Government became so overwhelming that in November, 1799, by the Revolution of Brumaire, the Directory was overthrown. A provisional

Consulate was established, which within a few weeks gave place to the permanent Consulate, and in both of these Bonaparte, the victor of Italy, was First Consul. Only ten years had elapsed since the meeting of the States-General at Versailles; if monarchy was not yet restored it was at least in sight.

From the fact that the first French Republic lasted only a few years the Revolution might seem to have been a failure. Such was far from being the case. Though France reverted to monarchy she retained many of the best results of the Revolution. Feudal privileges were not revived, and the Church did not recover the power it possessed under the *ancien régime*. The administration was carried on efficiently, and the peasants were much better off than before. Justice was open to all, and taxation was levied on a fair basis.

The effects of the Revolution were not confined to France. Agitation spread to other countries, where Governments became alarmed lest the course of events in France should be repeated in their own dominions. For many years it became the common practice of European Governments to suppress all traces of revolutionary sentiments and to punish severely persons who attempted to spread them.

CHAPTER II

THE FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY WAR

To the statesmen of Europe it did not seem likely that the outbreak of the French Revolution would lead to a general European war. France, apparently fully occupied in reorganising her government, was in no condition to make war upon her neighbours, and no cause of conflict could be perceived. The chief effect, indeed, of the internal troubles of France appeared to be complete, if temporary, extinction of her influence in international affairs. Spain, which, through the Family Compact, had been in close alliance with France, became involved in 1790 in a dispute with Great Britain over the seizure of some ships in Nootka Sound, and found that she could no longer rely upon the support of her neighbour. Austria had been friendly with France since 1756, and now found that the moral support of her ally counted for nothing in the Turkish war which was still being waged. France had ceased to be a factor in European affairs.

After the flight of Louis XVI to Varennes and his return to Paris some concern began to be felt for the safety of the French King and his family. The Emperor Leopold II, brother of Marie Antoinette, felt that the time had come for the powers of Europe to act together in support of Louis XVI. He suggested that the authority of the French King should be restored and the Revolution restrained by the joint action of other states. Though Great Britain was unwilling to intervene, Leopold met the King of Prussia, Frederick William II, at Pillnitz, in August, 1791. The difficulties in the way of co-operation were considerable. The two monarchs were suspicious of each other on the Polish question, and they feared that their preoccupation in the French war would be to the advantage of Russia. They were more ready to threaten than to strike; yet they were urged by French *émigré* princes and nobles to take action, and a Declaration was issued expressing the view that the authority of the French King ought to be restored and the hope that other states would not refuse to co-operate in re-establishing it. If other powers would associate themselves with the enterprise, Austria and Prussia would undertake to employ an adequate force for this purpose. The exact intention of the two monarchs in issuing the Declaration of Pillnitz was by no means clear. Since, however, Great Britain was known to be adverse to intervention, it is probable that the Declaration meant, and was intended to mean, very little. Resentment was aroused in Paris, but when news of the acceptance of the constitution of 1791 by Louis XVI reached Leopold he withdrew the Declaration.

More serious matters of difference soon arose between France and the Central Powers. *Émigré* princes and nobles were living in the Rhenish provinces of the Empire. They made extreme demands and tried to induce German princes to fight against the Revolution. They were armed, and under the leadership of Condé they tried to organise at Coblentz an army for the invasion of France. The French were alarmed, and their relations with the German princes became unfriendly. Some of these princes, moreover, possessed lands in the east of France, and their rights had been affected by the decrees of the Constituent Assembly. Negotiations were carried on, but took an unsatisfactory course, and by the beginning of 1792 war was certain. An Austro-Prussian alliance was formed in February, and in April, on the proposal of Louis XVI, France declared war against Austria. It is possible that in taking this step Louis believed that France would be speedily defeated and that the Assembly would be compelled to strengthen his hands. By his action, however, he made his own dethronement certain.

It is useless to discuss the rights and wrongs of the outbreak of war. It may be contended that France had a right to settle her internal affairs without foreign interference, while, on the other hand, it is reasonable to assert that the Emperor and the King of Prussia (who regarded the French declaration of war against Austria as applicable also to himself) were entitled to prevent the spread of the Revolution to their own people. From both points of view, revolutionary principles were incompatible with absolute monarchy, and war was inevitable.

The French army at the outbreak of war was ill-equipped and badly organised. Recruiting was unsatisfactory, and discipline was lax. The allies, on the other hand, were little better prepared for waging war, for they distrusted each other, and both feared the activity of Catherine II in eastern Europe.

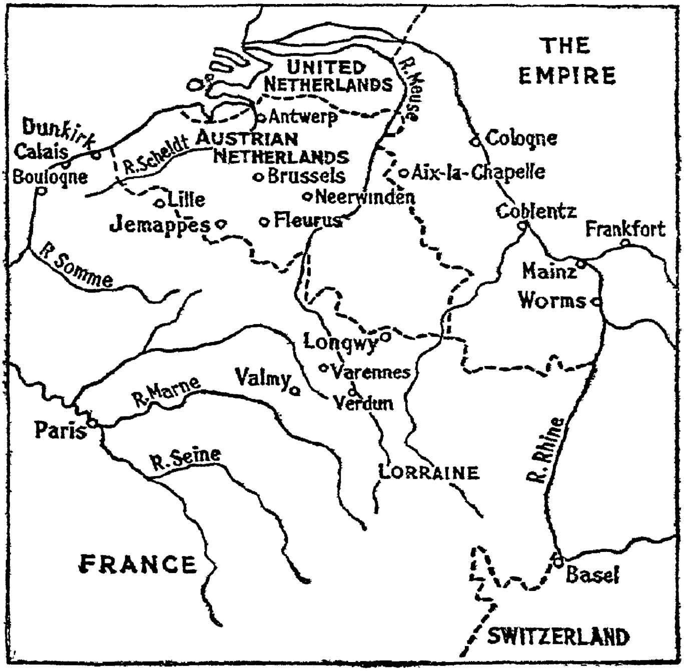
The campaign did not open in earnest until July. As already stated, the commander of the Prussian army issued a manifesto calling upon the French people to restore the authority of their King and threatening to punish the city of Paris if any insult should be offered to him. This ill-advised document was really inspired by Frederick William, and its effect was the reverse of what was intended. From its tone the Parisians assumed that Louis was in secret touch with the enemies of France. Events moved to a crisis; on 10th August the King was suspended from his functions, and shortly afterwards he was deposed.

An Austrian army invaded France from the north-east and besieged Lille, while the Prussians crossed the border into Lorraine and captured the fortresses of Longwy and Verdun. Panic prevailed in Paris, and in September, 1792, some hundreds of prisoners opposed to the Revolution were put to death in the prisons of the capital. But Kellermann and Dumouriez withstood the Prussians at the Cannonade of Valmy, and the invaders, abandoning Longwy and Verdun, retreated across the frontier. They were followed by a French army which captured Worms and Mainz and for a time occupied Frankfort, which had to pay a heavy ransom.

Before the end of the year Dumouriez was able to relieve Lille and invade the Austrian Netherlands, the population of which was discontented with Austrian rule and had been, a few years earlier, in actual revolt against the Emperor Joseph II. The Austrians were defeated at Jemappes, and the country was easily overrun. At the same time another French army annexed Savoy and Nice. These provinces had hitherto formed part of the kingdom of Sardinia, which by this time was at war with the republic.

Although, at the outbreak of war, the French had disclaimed all thought of conquest, these easy and rapid successes, gained by them in the name of liberty, led to a desire for military glory and perhaps inspired the Edict of Fraternity, of 19th November, 1792. The Convention, by this pronouncement, promised French aid to all the oppressed peoples of Europe who wished to recover their freedom and, by a further decree of 15th December, announced that in all territory occupied by

French armies feudal rights would be abolished and republican institutions established. These edicts were a challenge to every European power, and a war in which France would be opposed to a European coalition could no longer be averted.


UNITED NETHERLANDS
THE EMPIRE
R. Meuse
Antwerp
Dunkirk
Calais
AUSTRIAN NETHERLANDS
R. Scheldt
Cologne
Boulogne
Brussels
Aix-la-Chapelle
Lille
Neerwinden
Coblentz
Jemappes
Fleurus
Frankfort
R. Somme
Mainz
Worms
Longwy
Varennes
Valmy
R. Marne
Verdun
Paris
R. Rhine
R. Seine
LORRAINE
FRANCE
Basel
SWITZERLAND

The Eastern and North-Eastern Frontiers of France, 1792–5

Pitt long hoped that war between Great Britain and France might be avoided, and, though the French afterwards regarded him as their most implacable enemy, he laboured to the uttermost to maintain peace. The French invasion of the Austrian Netherlands was viewed in Great Britain with uneasiness, but Pitt considered this action against the territory of a power which had invaded France to be no sufficient ground for war. But English opinion was hardening. The deposition of Louis XVI and the September massacres destroyed the sympathy which many Englishmen had hitherto felt for a people struggling for liberty. The Edict of Fraternity might have resulted in war, but Maret, an unofficial French agent in London, offered an explanation of the Edict which postponed the crisis. The execution of Louis XVI, however, in January, 1793, and the opening of the Scheldt to navigation, in defiance of the settlement of Europe at Westphalia and of subsequent treaties, made a conflict unavoidable. At the beginning of February, 1793, France declared war against Great Britain and Holland.

In the course of 1793 France found herself at war with fifteen states, of which the most important were Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, Holland, Spain, and Sardinia. Dumouriez invaded Holland, but, fearing Austrian attack on his flank, retreated, and was defeated by the Austrians at Neerwinden. He was suspected of treasonable designs against the republican Government, and messengers were sent by the Convention to arrest him, whereupon he fled to the enemy. A British army under the Duke of York now joined the Austrians in the Netherlands, drove the French back, invaded France, and besieged Dunkirk. A Spanish army invaded Roussillon, in the south-west, and a British naval force occupied Toulon. A Royalist revolt broke out in La Vendée. Invasion by Prussians and Austrians was threatened again from the east, where Mainz was recovered from the French.

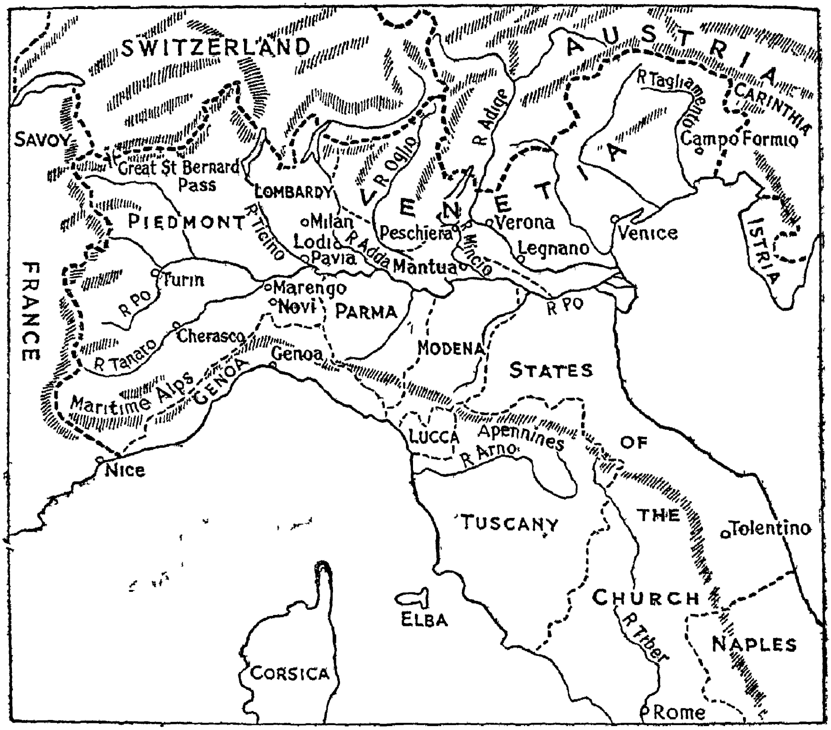
France proved equal to the emergency. The people rallied with intense enthusiasm to the defence of their land, for they realised that the victory of the enemies of France would be followed by the restoration of the *ancien régime*, with all its burdens, its oppression, and its injustice. A *levée en masse* was ordered, and the new forces were organised by Carnot. All men of suitable age were conscripted for the army, and even women and children were assigned work of national importance. Austrians and Prussians were driven back, the Duke of York was forced to abandon the siege of Dunkirk, the Vendean insurrection was checked (though it was not entirely suppressed for some time), and the English were compelled to leave Toulon.

In 1794 the tide of battle ran even more definitely in favour of the French. The Spaniards were driven back across the Pyrenees, and Catalonia was invaded. A new and irresistible attack was launched against the Austrian Netherlands. The Austrians were defeated by Jourdan at the Battle of Fleurus, and the Duke of York was driven into Holland, whence he was soon afterwards recalled to England. Austrian and Prussian forces were withdrawn from western Europe and diverted to Poland, the final partition of which was about to take place. In a naval battle off Ushant, the "Glorious First of June," a British fleet under Lord Howe defeated the French, but the corn ships which were being convoyed from America to France succeeded in reaching port.

In the winter of 1794–5 French armies overran Holland and compelled the Dutch to accept a humiliating peace. An indemnity was to be paid, territory was to be ceded, and an alliance, offensive and defensive, was to be accepted. The Dutch undertook to equip and maintain a body of French troops quartered in their own land. The Stadtholder refused to agree to these terms and fled to England, and with his sanction Great Britain annexed the Dutch settlement at the Cape of Good Hope. The French sugar islands in the West Indies were also captured by the British fleet, but in Europe Prussia made peace and ceded certain of her Rhenish territories to France by the Treaty of Basel, on 5th April, 1795. Spain made peace by another Treaty of Basel, on 22nd July, 1795, and by a further treaty (San Ildefonso) in August, 1796, she entered into an alliance with France.

By the beginning of 1796 the only states of importance remaining in arms against the French republic were Austria, Sardinia, and Great Britain. Negotiations for peace between Great Britain and France were attempted, but without result. Now that peace had been concluded with Spain and Prussia the republic was free to concentrate her military forces against Austria and Sardinia. A threefold attack upon Austria was planned by Carnot, the French Minister for War. Jourdan and Moreau were to invade Austrian territory by way of the Rhine, while Bonaparte was to attack Austrian power in northern Italy. This young general had already attracted notice, and in the Italian campaign of 1796 he was to distinguish himself alike as a strategist and as a tactician. His troops depended little upon long baggage trains and lived by seizing provisions and other stores wherever they went. He thus moved his armies rapidly, making surprise attacks after long marches. He demoralised the enemy by cannon-fire, and by his charges he drove wavering troops from the field. Much of his success was due to his attention to detail and to his capacity for selecting efficient staff officers.

Entering Italy between the Maritime Alps and the sea, Bonaparte, by defeating the Sardinians and Austrians five times within a month, prevented the junction of their armies. Detaching a small force to cover the Austrian army, he drove the Sardinians back towards Turin. He thus forced Victor Amadeus to agree to the Treaty of Cherasco, by which peace was made and Savoy and Nice were left in French hands.


SWITZERLAND
AUSTRIA
R Tagliamento
CARINTHIA
Campo Formio
SAVOY
Great St Bernard Pass
LOMBARDY
VENETIA
R Oglio
R Adige
PIEDMONT
R Ticino
Milan
Lodi
R Adda
Pavia
Peschiera
Verona
Legnano
Mincio
Mantua
Venice
ISTRIA
FRANCE
Turin
R Po
Marengo
Novi
PARMA
R Po
Cherasco
R Tanaro
Genoa
MODENA
STATES
Maritime Alps
GENOA
LUCCA
Apennines
R Arno
OF
Nice
TUSCANY
THE
Tolentino
CHURCH
ELBA
R Tiber
NAPLES
CORSICA
Rome

North and Central Italy, 1796–1800

Bonaparte then marched to the south-east of Milan, which the Austrians abandoned, retreating towards Mantua. By defeating them at Lodi he became master of Lombardy and was able to enter Milan, which, although it welcomed him as a deliverer from Austrian rule, was compelled to pay a large indemnity and to surrender a number of pictures from Milanese churches and galleries. The French were hated, however, by the country-folk of Lombardy, on account of their systematic plundering of the countryside. A rising of the peasants occurred; some French soldiers were killed, and the insurgents sheltered in Pavia, which was taken by the French and sacked.

The Austrians prepared to make a stand at Mantua and Peschiera, on the border of Venetian territory, but Bonaparte defeated them at Peschiera, and laid siege to Mantua. A short expedition to the Papal States compelled the Pope, who had sided with the Austrians against France, to agree to an armistice by which he yielded pictures and other works of art and paid an indemnity to his conquerors.

The arrival in Italy of Austrian reinforcements in two divisions caused Bonaparte to raise the siege of Mantua, but the newcomers were defeated separately, and other Austrian armies which were poured into Italy met with a like fate. The siege of Mantua was renewed and pressed vigorously, and the city fell into French hands in February, 1797. Before the end of 1796 Bonaparte had united the duchy of Modena with certain provinces of the Papal States and had established the Cispadane republic, in alliance with France.

Bonaparte was now master of the whole of northern Italy. Invading the States of the Church a second time on account of papal intrigues with the Austrians and Venetians, he forced the Pope to agree to terms of peace at Tolentino.

Meanwhile the Archduke Charles had defeated Jourdan and forced him to retreat, and in consequence of this Moreau, who had gained some successes in Bavaria, was compelled to fall back. But early in 1797 Bonaparte defeated Charles at the Tagliamento and invaded Carinthia. Austria was beaten, and the Treaty of Campo Formio was concluded.

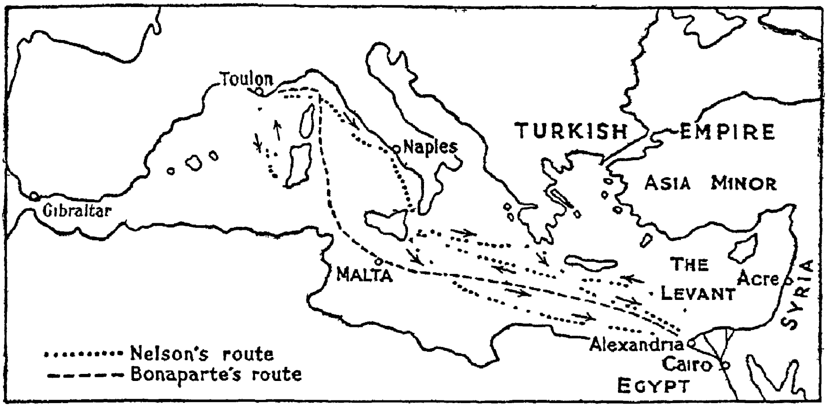
By the terms of the peace Lombardy and the Austrian Netherlands were ceded to France. Lombardy was now joined with the Cispadane republic to form the Cisalpine republic, in alliance with France, and this new organisation was recognised by Austria. As some compensation for her losses Austria was permitted to annex that part of Venetia which lay east of the Adige, together with Istria and Dalmatia. The Venetian republic thus came to an end. A Congress was to be held at Rastadt to arrange terms of peace between France and the Holy Roman Empire, and the Emperor promised to use his influence at the Congress to secure the cession of all territory west of the Rhine to France. Earlier in the year Genoa had become the Ligurian republic. At the Congress of Rastadt, which opened in December, 1797, it was agreed to yield the left bank of the Rhine to the French and to compensate the dispossessed princes with grants of ecclesiastical lands elsewhere in the Empire.

The successes of France thus resulted in immense territorial gains. The French boundary now reached the Rhine, the Austrian Netherlands were annexed, and in the north of Italy were vassal republics which were French territory in all but name. Yet Austria, which had suffered heavy defeats, had lost little. She had given up the Austrian Netherlands and Lombardy, but she had obtained Venetia and other lands as compensation, and the change was in the direction of the consolidation of her dominions. She had pursued a selfish policy, seeking her own interests instead of acting in defence of Germany. The conclusion to be drawn from a consideration of four years of warfare was that neither of the two great military monarchies of the Holy Roman Empire was prepared to put Imperial interests before its own.

In 1797 Great Britain alone remained at war with France, and France was no longer without allies. Holland and Spain had both declared war on Great Britain, whose position was extremely serious, since her freedom from invasion depended on the superiority of her fleet, and each of her enemies was a naval power of importance. An attempted invasion of Ireland by the French in 1796 had failed only through bad weather conditions. It now became the object of British naval strategy to prevent a concentration of enemy fleets, and, in spite of mutinies in the navy, this was achieved. Jervis and Nelson defeated the Spanish fleet at the Battle of St. Vincent, and some months later Duncan defeated the Dutch at the Battle of Camperdown. By the end of the year Great Britain was as assuredly supreme at sea as France was dominant on land.

On account of his successes in Italy, where he had acted with little regard for the Directory, Bonaparte's reputation now stood high in France. The Directors feared that he might use his power to overthrow them, and he obtained their ready consent to undertake a new expedition in 1798. He sailed from Toulon with a fleet and an army, and after capturing Malta from the Knights of St. John he reached Egypt, then a province of the Turkish Empire. No certain knowledge exists of his ultimate aims. It is probable that he intended to conquer Egypt and continue his course to

India. He would thus inflict a heavy blow upon British prestige and British trade and might compel Great Britain to submit to peace on French terms. It is possible, too, that he contemplated the conquest of Turkey and the liberation of the Christian peoples in the Balkan peninsula. With their aid he might deliver a fresh attack upon Austria from the south-east.



THE MEDITERRANEAN, 1798–1800

Although there was no British naval base east of Gibraltar a small fleet with Nelson in command had been watching Toulon. The British admiral was driven out to sea by stress of weather; he was compelled to put in at a Sardinian port, and was unable to prevent Bonaparte's departure. Nelson had no certain information of the plans of the enemy, but, after receiving reinforcements, he sailed to the east and reached Alexandria before the arrival of the French. Not finding them there, he cruised about the Levant for a month in search of them. Upon returning to Alexandria he discovered the French fleet at anchor and, in the Battle of the Nile, he destroyed it. Bonaparte, who had defeated the Mamelukes, a body of Circassian cavalry, in the Battle of the Pyramids, was now cut off from France, and the re-establishment of his communications became an urgent matter. He marched into Syria, but he was checked at Acre, which was strongly held by the Turks, reinforced by an English naval brigade under Sir Sidney Smith, and he withdrew to Egypt. At length news of the formation of the Second Coalition and of French defeats in Italy reached him. Before long he received instructions to return home, and, abandoning alike his enterprise and his army, he embarked for France.

Early in 1798 the constitution of the Dutch republic (by this time known as the Batavian republic) was remodelled on that of France. Soon afterwards the French made war upon the Swiss, whose ancient form of government was destroyed; in its place the Helvetic republic was formed. In the same year a French army attacked Rome, removed the Pope to Valence, on the Rhône, and established the Roman republic.

Austria was dissatisfied with the settlement at Campo Formio and now determined upon a renewal of the war. A Second Coalition of European powers was formed against France, and it secured from the Tsar, Paul I (son of Catherine II, who died in 1796), the promise of aid. The King of Naples resented French action in the Papal States and joined the alliance, to which Great Britain promised financial assistance.

Naples was conquered by the French early in 1799, and in the place of the monarchy the Parthenopean republic was established, but a Russian army passed through Austrian territory and, with the Austrians, entered northern Italy, easily overrunning it and occupying Milan. The French abandoned Naples and Rome and were defeated by the allies at Novi. The Cisalpine republic was overthrown and the French retreated into the Ligurian republic (Genoa); they were saved from utter disaster only by dissensions among the allies. The Austrians were jealous of Russian victories, while the Tsar was annoyed at the lack of Austrian co-operation. Masséna was able to defeat another Russian army at Zurich, in Switzerland, and the Tsar soon afterwards withdrew from the war.

In November, 1799, Bonaparte became First Consul, and in 1800 he took the field against the Austrians in Italy. Moreau was sent at the same time into South Germany to occupy the south bank of the upper Danube in order to prevent additional Austrian forces being moved into Italy. Bonaparte crossed the Alps by the Great St. Bernard Pass and entered Milan. Masséna, who had been left in command of the French remnant in Italy, had been blockaded in Genoa and starved into surrender, but a few days later the Austrians were defeated by Bonaparte at the Battle of Marengo and were compelled to retreat east of the Mincio. Piedmont was occupied, the Cisalpine republic was restored, and French troops again entered the south of Italy, though the Parthenopean republic was not revived. Negotiations followed, and by the Treaty of Lunéville, 1801, Austria repeated the Treaty of Campo Formio and agreed without further demur to the settlement reached at Rastadt—that French territory should extend to the Rhine and that the dispossessed princes should be compensated out of other German lands with the sanction of the Consulate. The effect of this arrangement was that Germany would be constructed in accordance with French ideas. The Emperor also agreed to recognise the Batavian and Helvetic republics. Peace was made with Naples at about the same time.

With the collapse of the Second Coalition Great Britain for the second time stood alone against France. The Tsar had by this time become very unfriendly towards Great Britain. He had assumed the Grand Mastership of the Knights of St. John, and he resented the British capture of Malta, which had occurred in September, 1800. Moreover, the determination of the British to maintain a blockade of French ports and to exclude from them neutral ships which carried contraband wheat, timber, and other things, led to friction with a number of the states of northern Europe. A Northern League (a revival of the Armed Neutrality of 1780), consisting of Russia, Prussia, Sweden, and Denmark, to resist by force British interference with neutral vessels, was formed in December, 1800. A British fleet was sent to Copenhagen under the command of Parker and Nelson in 1801, and it succeeded in crippling the Danish fleet. The Tsar Paul was assassinated at this time, and Great Britain found it possible to come to terms with his successor, Alexander I, on the question of contraband. With the withdrawal of Russia the Northern League collapsed.

Both sides were weary of a war in which there seemed to be no prospect of a decisive victory being obtained by either. Great Britain was definitely successful at sea; the French were triumphant everywhere on land, except, indeed, in Egypt, where the French army had been defeated by Sir Ralph Abercromby. Negotiations for peace were begun, and by the Treaty of Amiens Great Britain undertook to restore to the French the captured West Indian islands and to the Dutch the Cape of Good Hope, but she retained Trinidad, captured from Spain, and Ceylon, taken from the Dutch. Malta was to be restored by Great Britain to the Knights of St. John, and the French agreed to retire from the Papal States and Naples. British and French troops were to leave Egypt, which was to be restored to the Turkish Empire.

The treaty was more favourable to France than to Great Britain. The latter gave back many important conquests. The First Consul yielded only Egypt, which he had already lost and could not recover, and central and southern Italy, which he could recover whenever he wished. Great Britain, moreover, had entered the war in 1793 in order to maintain the existing system of states in Europe against French attack, and, by making a peace which left the French in possession of the Rhine boundary, with vassal republics in Holland and northern Italy, she had failed to secure her main object in the war.

The war was remarkable, perhaps, for the success of the French. When hostilities began France was distracted and nearly bankrupt. Her armies were ragged and undisciplined and were opposed to the trained levies of the powers of central Europe. By all the recognised rules of warfare the struggle ought to have been short and, for France, inglorious. But the enthusiasm of the French troops, fighting for the ideals of the Revolution, enabled them to carry everything before them and to force the monarchs of Europe to accept humiliating terms of peace from the republic they hated and despised. The system of benevolent despotism was, in fact, played out, and it was bound to suffer defeat when it was opposed to revolutionary ideals. Great Britain allied herself in the First and Second Coalitions with these despotic monarchies, and her escape from similar humiliation was due only to her special geographical position and to the strength of her navy.

CHAPTER III

NAPOLEON'S RULE IN FRANCE

By the establishment of the Consulate in 1799 and the appointment of Bonaparte as First Consul a definite step was taken, only ten years after the beginning of the Revolution, towards the re-establishment of monarchy in France. The new constitution provided, indeed, for government by three Consuls, but the whole power of the state, including military command, was confided to the First Consul, to whom the Second and Third Consuls were assistants rather than colleagues. The new monarchy thus established was fully as despotic as that of the Bourbons, although its character was to some extent veiled at first under constitutional forms. (Even these were modified or discarded in course of time.) It was a despotism, however, which in many respects contrasted strongly with the benevolent despotism of the last Bourbons. It was vigorous and ruthless where theirs was mild and feeble; they were overwhelmed with a load of debt and an antiquated financial system, while the Consulate was run economically and on sound financial principles; the old Government was unable to cope with its work, while the new administration was in every way efficient.

The ease with which the change from the Directory to the Consulate was effected may be accounted for by the disgust of the nation with the inefficiency and corruption of the Directors. The only chance of a strong Government appeared to lie in the elevation to a position of supreme authority of a general who had won fame for the republic. The French had tasted of liberty. Not for the last time in their history they showed their preference for glory.

An elaborate organisation was set up to conceal the fact that legislation and administration alike were subject to the will of the First Consul. The Council of State dealt with administrative matters, but its members were appointed by the First Consul and, presumably, were expected to act in accordance with his views. The Senate, which was partly appointed by the First Consul and partly co-opted, was entrusted with the appointment of the tribunes and legislators. Legislation was proposed by the Council of State, was discussed by the tribunes, and was voted upon by the body of legislators. Councillors and tribunes might argue for and against the proposals before the Legislative Corps. In practice this elaborate organisation, most of the members of which were supporters of the First Consul, existed to carry out his will, and it is to be presumed that, if any part of it had attempted serious opposition to him, the First Consul would have suppressed it or would have ridden rough-shod over it. In the early days of the Empire the Tribunate was, in fact, abolished, and the Senate and the Council of State were brought more strictly under the Emperor's control.

The policy of the Consulate may be described as one of centralisation, sound finance, and conciliation. The over-centralisation of Bourbon government had been followed, in the early days of the Revolution, by the establishment of a new and elaborate system of local government, and for a time France suffered from excessive decentralisation. This was now corrected by Bonaparte. The local government divisions, of which the most important were the department (roughly equivalent to an English county) and the commune (or parish), were retained, but they became subject to prefects and mayors, the nominees of the First Consul, instead of to elected officials. Paris was divided into twelve districts, each under a mayor, while the city as a whole was under the authority of a prefect of police.

French finance was in no better condition in 1799 than it had been ten years earlier. The enormous masses of paper money issued in the earlier years of the Revolution had been repudiated in 1797. Under revolutionary conditions the collection of the revenue had presented great difficulty, and by the time of the establishment of the Consulate it was three or four years in arrear. The lists for the current year had not even been prepared. Bonaparte, besides economising in public expenditure and declining to fall back upon loans, put the collection of taxes upon a businesslike footing. Arrears were collected, and current and future lists were prepared, in order that collection might henceforth be made at the proper time. The establishment of a Bank of France on the model of the Bank of England strengthened the credit of the country.

Bonaparte endeavoured to deal in a statesmanlike manner with some of the problems left over from the Revolution. Many thousands of *émigrés* were still living abroad, where they were a source of disaffection towards France and of friction between France and the countries which gave them shelter. The First Consul invited them to return to their native land, and restored their estates to them if these had not already been sold. As evidence of his good intentions towards those who had hitherto opposed the Revolution he released large numbers of political prisoners (including many non-juring clergy), and he annulled the laws which debarred the relatives of *émigrés* from holding office in the state.

More serious than the question of the *émigrés* was that of religion. Many people, especially in the country districts, adhered to the old Church, whose clergy regarded the Count of Provence as Louis XVIII. Bonaparte was anxious to weaken the Bourbons by undermining the support they received from this source. He endeavoured, therefore, to bring about an agreement with the Pope which should settle the ecclesiastical question in such a way as to satisfy the Roman Catholic Church, the people of France, and the Government of France. Non-juring priests were released from prison, those who had fled were permitted to return, and many churches were reopened. Negotiations were opened with the Pope (Pius VII), and agreement was reached in 1801, though it was not in full working order till April, 1802.

By the Concordat the Roman Catholic religion was recognised as the religion of France. Bishops were to be appointed by the First Consul and instituted by the Pope, and parish clergy were to be appointed by the bishops. No claim was to be made for the restoration of Church property, but salaries were to be paid to the clergy by the state, and cathedrals and churches were to be restored. It was agreed that forms of service should contain prayers for the republic and the Consuls.

In order to bring the new arrangements into effect it was necessary to induce existing bishops, both constitutional and non-juring, to resign. Little difficulty was experienced with the former, but many of the latter refused, and it became necessary for the Pope to depose those who stood out for their former rights. New appointments were made, mainly from the ranks of the non-juring bishops, but the constitutional clergy (bishops and priests) were received again into the Church. The schism was regarded as healed, and Bonaparte was hailed as a second Constantine.

The original appointment of Bonaparte as First Consul was for a period of ten years, but in 1802 he became First Consul for life. France was still regarded as a republic, and, indeed, this term was not dropped until 1809, several years after the establishment of the Empire, but the Government had become a monarchy in fact though not in name, since its head held office for life and was empowered to name his successor. From this time Bonaparte assumed, in royal fashion, the style of "Napoleon."

The renewal, in 1803, of the war with Great Britain strengthened Napoleon's position, and the discovery of plots, Royalist and Republican, against his life stimulated his supporters to propose the final change. Little opposition was experienced, and on 18th May, 1804, a decree was issued by the Senate announcing that "the Government of the Republic is entrusted to an Emperor." Napoleon assumed the title of "Emperor of the French." That this step did not meet with the entire approval of his veterans is indicated by the remark, at once contemptuous and sorrowful, of one of his officers, "He is Napoleon, and he becomes—Emperor."

Recognition of Napoleon's new dignity was obtained easily in France, where a plebiscite was taken; the people confirmed it by a practically unanimous vote (3,572,329 to 2,569). Difficulties were experienced abroad, however. Francis II, the Holy Roman Emperor, who alone hitherto had held the title of Emperor, assumed the style of "Hereditary Emperor of Austria," and he demanded and received recognition of this in exchange for his recognition of Napoleon's new dignity. (Within a couple of years Francis laid down the title of Holy Roman Emperor, and the ancient Empire came to an end.) Great Britain was already at war with France and never formally recognised the Empire. Prussia and many other German states, however, readily recognised Napoleon as Emperor. The Tsar was at this time definitely opposed to France and was soon afterwards at war; he was not on cordial terms with Napoleon until after the meeting at Tilsit. But the Pope was induced to acknowledge the French Emperor, at whose coronation he was present. Napoleon however, placed the crown on his own head—a fitting act by one who was the architect of his own fortunes and who, in his rise, owed nothing to the favour of priest or pope.

In many ways Napoleon showed a desire to make his Empire a real and vigorous successor to the Roman Empire. It was developed from a republic, as was the Empire of the Cæsars, and in both cases the term "Republic" remained in use long after the rule of an Emperor had been established. Napoleon imitated Charlemagne, the founder of the Holy Roman Empire, by establishing dominion over vast territories, with subject peoples and vassal kings. Charlemagne and other Holy Roman Emperors had been crowned by the Pope; the Pope was present at Napoleon's coronation. The successors of Charlemagne had designated their heirs "Kings of the Romans"; Napoleon conferred on his son (born in 1811) the title of "King of Rome." For centuries the Roman Empire had existed in two divisions, Eastern and Western; by the Treaty of Tilsit Napoleon contemplated a similar partition of Europe between himself and the Tsar. By his marriage in 1810 with Marie Louise, daughter of Francis I of Austria, Napoleon allied the House of Bonaparte with that of Hapsburg, so that his descendants might claim connection with the old Imperial line.

If liberty had been the keynote of the republic, glory was the dominant characteristic of the Empire. A magnificent court was established, with numerous dignified officials. A new nobility was brought into existence, the passport to which was not birth only, but ability and merit. In the army a body of Marshals was set up, and promotion was granted to soldiers according to capacity alone. A Legion of Honour, which was founded in the time of the Consulate, was continued under the Empire, and the distinction was awarded alike for civil and military services to the state.

It has been contended that, apart from any other title to fame, Napoleon is worthy of remembrance on account of his Codes. The Civil Code, which had been begun by a committee of the Convention, was completed by a commission of lawyers while Napoleon was First Consul. The whole body of French civil law was revised and codified, and, though the Code was open to criticism in some ways, it has remained the basis of French law ever since. Nor would it be right to assert that Napoleon merely gave his name to the work of other men.

He took an active and intelligent part in the task of revising the final draft of the Code. Other Codes, of Civil Procedure, of Crime, of Criminal Procedure, and of Commercial Law, followed in course of time, and, though they were not of equal importance or influence to the Civil Code, they strengthened Napoleon's reputation as a modern Justinian. As his conquests extended, the Codes were introduced into other lands, so that his legal work exercised an influence far beyond the borders of France.

Soon after the establishment of the Empire a conflict arose between Napoleon and the Pope. Pius VII was annoyed with his treatment at the Emperor's coronation, and before long he contended that various acts of Napoleon violated the rights of the Church. When Napoleon conquered southern Italy and appointed his brother Joseph to the throne of Naples the Pope revived a claim, which his predecessors in the Middle Ages had enforced, to the overlordship of that kingdom, and he refused to recognise the new king unless the claim was admitted. Napoleon replied with a demand that one-third of the body of cardinals should be French. The Pope ceased to institute to vacant sees in France the bishops named by Napoleon in accordance with the Concordat. The Emperor annexed the papal territories, and the Pope pronounced excommunication against all who were concerned in this act of violence, though he did not mention Napoleon by name. The climax came with the Pope's arrest.

This did not solve the problem. Catholic opinion everywhere was shocked, and Napoleon realised that it was to his interest to bring about a settlement. The Pope continued to refuse institution to French bishops, and the Emperor's efforts to circumvent him on this matter were fruitless. Attempts at compromise were made, but they failed, and the Pope was brought a prisoner to Fontainebleau, where he remained for some years.

The sound financial policy of the Consulate was continued for some years under the Empire. Government was conducted efficiently and with economy. Land was reassessed for purposes of taxation, and some of the former indirect taxes, such as those on salt and tobacco, which had been abolished by the Constituent Assembly, were reintroduced. But the most remarkable feature of Napoleonic finance was the establishment of a special fund under the Emperor's personal control and known as the Extraordinary Domain. Into it were paid indemnities from conquered countries and tributes from subject states, and the expenses of new expeditions were paid from it. The cost of war was thus made to fall upon the enemy, and French finance was not subject to excessive military burdens.

Napoleon was not disposed to allow much liberty to the press, which he viewed with suspicion. A censorship was established, and only certain papers were permitted to appear. An official journal, *Le Moniteur*, was issued, and published news in such a way as to extol and glorify the Emperor.

There was an advance in material prosperity in France in the earlier years of Napoleon's rule. French boundaries were pushed forward, and the country was free from invasion. Industry flourished, and, in imitation of Great Britain, machinery was introduced, though not at first to any great extent. Improvements were made in agricultural methods. Fallows were discontinued, a better rotation of crops was devised, and more land was brought under cultivation. Prosperity, however, was not maintained. The effect of the British blockade was severely felt in the latter years of Napoleon's reign, and cessation of imports combined with failure of crops to cause distress among the poor.

Enough has been written to show that Napoleon was something more than a great conqueror. He was a great organiser and a great administrator. In France, and elsewhere, he established government on sound principles in place of corruption and inefficiency. He disregarded privilege, and though he had some regard for tradition he transformed it and used it for his own purposes. Old problems were solved by him, and he worked for the prosperity of France. His achievements as a conqueror came in the end to nothing; his Empire was overthrown. But his work as an administrator was too solid to be discarded; his system of government survived him, and he must be given credit for much that is of permanent value in French life to-day.

CHAPTER IV

THE NAPOLEONIC WARS—TO THE TREATY OF TILSIT

War between Great Britain and France was renewed in May, 1803, after an interval of only thirteen months. The Peace of Amiens appears to have been regarded by both countries merely as a temporary stoppage of the war. Ill-feeling remained, and each side soon began to complain of the conduct of the other. Great Britain was slow to begin the evacuation of Malta and, in fact, never left the island at all; it was believed that the First Consul was contemplating a revival of his Eastern schemes and that he would not hesitate to seize the island again after the British had restored it to the Knights. Yet the retention of the island afforded to Napoleon an opportunity of charging Great Britain with bad faith; if the treaty had been observed and the French had afterwards seized Malta, the charge of bad faith might have been brought against them, while the recovery of the island by a British fleet would have presented little difficulty.

Alarm was felt in Great Britain at the continued growth of Napoleon's influence in various parts of the continent. He annexed Piedmont and controlled Genoa. He became President of the Cisalpine republic, which he renamed the Italian republic. The Helvetic republic was remodelled as the Swiss Confederation, in alliance with France. The work of reorganising the western part of the Holy Roman Empire, which had been begun by the Congress of Rastadt, was completed under French direction. Many of the small states and most of the Free Cities were merged into the territories of their more important neighbours. The Batavian republic also was reorganised, the country was occupied by French troops, and it was feared that the closing of Dutch ports to English trade was contemplated. The First Consul refused to renew the commercial treaty which had existed between Great Britain and France before 1793 and imposed a high tariff on British goods, which made a renewal of trade practically impossible. References to him in the British press were hostile and insulting, and he resented the cartoons which continually held him up to ridicule. Finally, as stated above, suspicion was aroused that the First Consul intended to revive his designs upon Egypt, and the British Government refused to discuss the question of Malta until he had given satisfactory assurances upon this matter. Negotiations were conducted with increasing bitterness and anger upon both sides and ended with a declaration of war by Great Britain.

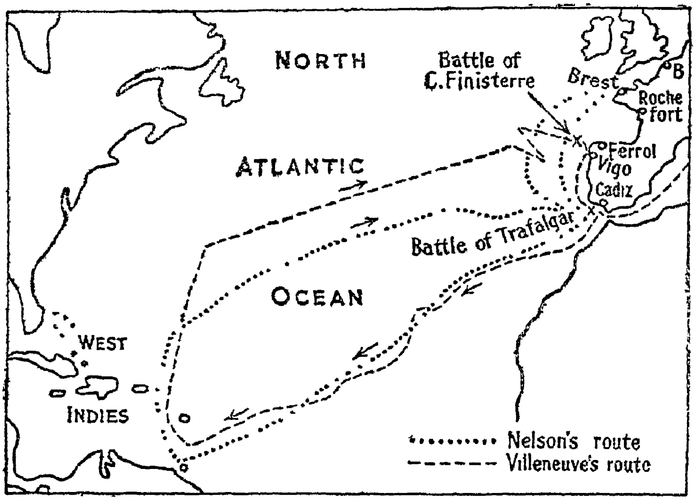
The struggle which began in 1803 differed in character from that which preceded it. In the French Revolutionary War Great Britain was allied with the eighteenth-century despotic monarchies against a nation inspired with revolutionary ideals. In the Napoleonic War the position was to a considerable extent reversed. In the earlier war the French had appeared everywhere as liberators. They had spread revolutionary principles and had established sound and satisfactory government in the territories which they conquered. But the nations of Europe were now called upon to withstand the advance of a tyranny harsher than that of their former rulers, and in course of time Napoleon was opposed by popular enthusiasm and determination in every part of Europe. In the first war France was the champion of freedom against despotism; in the second war she fought under a tyrant against the freedom and independence of other nations.

In 1803 Napoleon sent troops to occupy Hanover, whose Elector was King George III. Prussia regarded herself as the protector of all the North German states; Frederick William III protested against the French invasion of Hanover, but took no further action. Great Britain thereupon blockaded the Elbe and the Weser, with serious effects upon Prussian trade, and Frederick William asked Napoleon, but without effect, for an assurance that he would do nothing further which might be harmful to German interests.

In spite of the fact that Naples was not at war with France, troops were sent into that country to occupy its ports, though it seemed uncertain whether Napoleon's intention was to use these places as bases of attack upon Malta or upon Egypt. By threats, Spain and Portugal were compelled to pay subsidies to France, and the Dutch and the Swiss were ordered to contribute troops. These measures were intended by Napoleon as preliminaries to an invasion and conquest of Great Britain;

by them, however, he aroused resentment and alarm in various parts of the continent, and before long it became possible for Great Britain to organise a Coalition against him.

In 1804 Napoleon assembled a large army at Boulogne, apparently for the invasion of England. A fleet of transports was assembled, and troops were practised in embarkation and landing. Alarm was felt in England, and energetic measures were taken to repel the French. An army of volunteers was enrolled, the militia was strengthened, Martello towers were built, and a system of semaphore signalling was installed.



The North Atlantic, 1805

Arrangements were made to transfer, if necessary, the court and the treasury from London to a city in the Midlands; artillery and other stores were to be removed from Woolwich to the interior of the country; districts threatened with invasion were to be stripped of everything which could be of use to the enemy.

The obstacle to an invasion was, of course, the superiority of the British fleet and the certainty that the French transports would be captured or sunk in mid-Channel. Napoleon hoped to slip across the Channel in a fog, but for many months the sea was clear of all but the slightest of mists. At length, weary of waiting, he evolved a plan for assembling in the Channel a fleet powerful enough to overcome that of Great Britain, and in this he was assisted by the fact that Spain had, in 1804, entered the war against Great Britain. He directed the Toulon fleet, under Villeneuve, to evade Nelson's blockade, to make a junction with the Spanish fleet at Cadiz, and to sail for the New World. A squadron from Rochefort had already escaped from blockade and was attacking British commerce in the West Indies. Villeneuve was expected to unite with the Rochefort fleet and to return speedily to European waters and, in conjunction with the Brest fleet, to sail up the Channel and convoy the transports from Boulogne to the coast of England. It was hoped that Nelson would pursue Villeneuve to the West Indies and would cruise among the islands looking for the French until it was too late for him to prevent the invasion. Napoleon aimed at dispersing the British fleet and concentrating his own squadrons at the same time. The success of the plan depended on the movements of the French and Spanish fleets being as precise and swift as those of armies and upon the supposed stupidity of British admirals; as a matter of fact, British fleets and commanders were as much superior to those of the enemy as Napoleon was superior to the generals who opposed him on the continent.

The French plan failed. Villeneuve escaped from Toulon, joined the Spanish fleet, and sailed to the West Indies, whither Nelson followed him in order to frustrate possible attacks on the British West Indian colonies. Villeneuve did not meet the Rochefort squadron, which had already left American waters, and he failed to shake off Nelson, who divined his intention of returning to Europe. The British admiral sent a fast brig home to inform the Government of the state of affairs, and he followed with his fleet. Villeneuve, on reaching European waters, was attacked by Sir Robert Calder off Cape Finisterre, and after the battle he retreated towards Ferrol. Moving southwards, he put in at Vigo, and when at length he ventured out he retreated to Cadiz. Calder was court-martialled and censured for not acting with greater vigour against the enemy. Had Nelson been in command of Calder's fleet it is certain that Villeneuve would have suffered greater loss. Yet it should be remembered that Calder had engaged twenty ships of the line, two of which he captured, though he had no more than fifteen vessels in his squadron.

Meanwhile, Nelson was back in the Channel. Napoleon was angry at the collapse of his scheme and censured Villeneuve for not pressing on to the Channel after the Battle of Cape

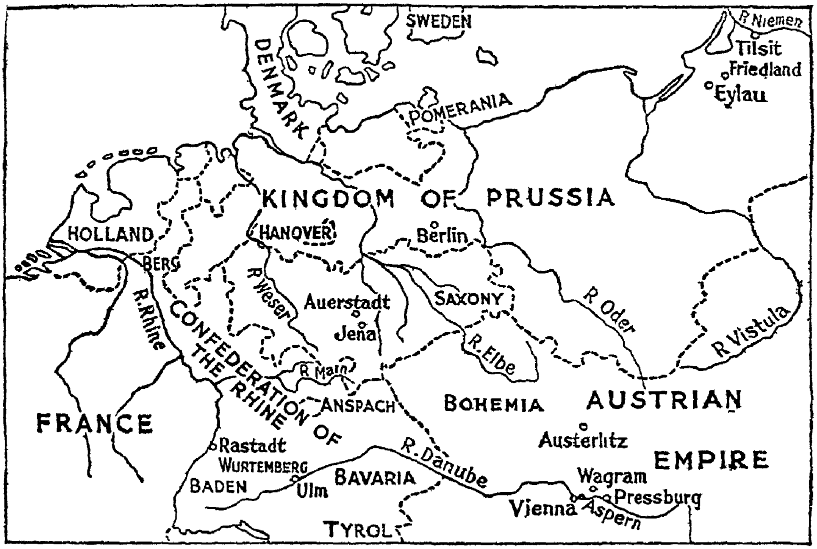
Finisterre. The French admiral now left Cadiz, determined to show his eagerness to meet the British fleet. At the Battle of Trafalgar the French and Spanish fleets were destroyed as a fighting force, though in Great Britain the victory was felt to be dearly bought at the cost of the life of Nelson. The proposed invasion of England had to be abandoned, and the camp of Boulogne was broken up.

Some students of military and naval strategy have doubted whether Napoleon ever meant to invade England. The risks were enormous, and the success of the naval plan depended to a great extent upon luck and upon the supposed incompetence of British admirals. The alternative view is that Napoleon intended the proposed invasion to be a pretext for the formation of a camp where a huge army might be concentrated—an army which would be ready to strike at any possible enemy on the continent of Europe. Yet it cannot be doubted that a victory over Great Britain was desired by Napoleon beyond anything else, and his preparations were on so vast a scale and appeared to be directed so completely to one end that it is difficult to regard them as mere bluff. It should be remembered, moreover, that, if British admirals had been less acute, the scheme of concentrating a large French fleet in the Channel might have succeeded, and it can hardly be doubted that in that event the invasion would have been attempted.

Meanwhile, after lengthy negotiations, a new Coalition had been formed against France. Agreement was reached between Great Britain and Russia early in 1805. Napoleon, perhaps recognising the absurdity of the Emperor of the French being President of the Italian republic, converted this republic into a kingdom with himself as King, and Austria, desirous of recovering Lombardy and being alarmed for the safety of her remaining Italian possessions, joined the Coalition a few months later. For the time being, Prussia remained neutral.

The Austrians placed two armies in the field. One, commanded by the Archduke Charles, attacked the new kingdom of Italy, while the other, under General Mack, awaited in Bavaria the arrival of the Russians in South Germany. But Napoleon marched with extraordinary rapidity from Boulogne to the Danube and took Mack in the rear, compelling him to surrender at Ulm. Charles withdrew from Italy, but he was too far off to save Vienna, which Napoleon entered unopposed. The Austrian forces in the neighbourhood of Vienna retreated in order to join the approaching Russians. Napoleon pursued them, but was unable to prevent the junction.

Bernadotte, the commander of the French army in Hanover, moved south to join Napoleon. In the course of his march he crossed Anspach, a Prussian province, without permission, and Frederick William prepared for war. In an agreement with the Tsar it was arranged that the King of Prussia should offer his services to Napoleon as mediator and that he should join the allies if his proposal was not accepted. If he had acted with vigour, Napoleon's position would have been critical. But before he could move the French Emperor encountered and defeated the combined Austrian and Russian armies at the decisive Battle of Austerlitz, on 2nd December, 1805. Russian troops withdrew from Austrian territory, the Emperor Francis sued for peace, and the Prussian King explained away his recent treaty and formed an alliance with Napoleon, in connection with which he was permitted to occupy Hanover.


SWEDEN
R. Niemen
Tilsit
Friedland
Eylau
DENMARK
POMERANIA
KINGDOM OF PRUSSIA
HOLLAND
HANOVER
Berlin
BERG
R. Weser
R. Rhine
Auerstadt
Jena
SAXONY
R. Oder
R. Vistula
R. Elbe
R. Main
CONFEDERATION OF THE RHINE
ANSPACH
BOHEMIA
AUSTRIAN EMPIRE
FRANCE
Austerlitz
Rastadt
R. Danube
WURTEMBERG
BADEN
Ulm
BAVARIA
Wagram
Vienna
Aspern
Pressburg
TYROL

CENTRAL EUROPE IN 1806

By the Treaty of Pressburg, 1805, Austria was compelled to yield the last of her Italian possessions, Venetia, Istria, and Dalmatia, to the kingdom of Italy, though she was permitted to retain Trieste. Tyrol was ceded to Bavaria, and other lands to Baden and Würtemberg. Bavaria and Würtemberg were recognised as kingdoms, over which the Austrian Emperor renounced all rights.

About this time the French Emperor began the policy of establishing vassal states under the rule of members of his family. The King of Naples was deprived of his throne, which was allotted to Joseph Bonaparte, although the deposed Ferdinand continued to reign in Sicily, which was beyond Napoleon's reach. The Emperor's sister Élise was made Princess of Lucca, his brother Louis was appointed King of Holland, his brother-in-law, Joachim Murat, became Grand Duke of Berg, and his stepson, Eugène de Beauharnais (son of the Empress Josephine by her former marriage), acted as the Emperor's viceroy in the kingdom of Italy.

It had for some time been one of Napoleon's aims to create, as a counterpoise to Austria and Prussia, a third powerful state in Germany. He was now in a position to carry out this idea, and he formed the Confederation of the Rhine. A number of petty states were absorbed into their larger neighbours, and these, sixteen in number, formed a Confederation which passed under the "protection" of Napoleon, and was bound, upon demand, to supply him with an army of 63,000 men. The states of the Confederation were governed despotically, but efficiently. Old feudal privileges were abolished, and the burden of taxation was distributed fairly. The armies of the Confederation were organised and trained by French officers. The Confederation formally announced its withdrawal from the Holy Roman Empire. Francis II thereupon laid down the title of Holy Roman Emperor, and the antiquated Empire came to an end.

Friction soon developed between Napoleon and the King of Prussia, who was hoping to form a North German Confederation similar to the Confederation of the Rhine. Napoleon at this time was negotiating for peace with Great Britain on the basis of the restoration of Hanover, which had been promised to and occupied by Prussia. Frederick William allied with the Tsar, who was still at war with France, and demanded that Napoleon should withdraw his troops to the west of the Rhine. The Emperor's answer was to march against Prussia. One Prussian army was overwhelmed by Napoleon at the Battle of Jena on the same day as another was beaten by Davoust at Auerstädt. Before Russian assistance could be obtained other Prussian armies and fortresses surrendered in rapid succession, and Napoleon entered Berlin as a conqueror.

Frederick William still held out east of the Vistula. Napoleon marched against the Russians and Prussians, but, with an ever-lengthening line of communications, his position was dangerous, and, if Austria had attacked him and England had sent an expedition to the Baltic at once, he might have been overcome. An indecisive and bloody battle was fought at Eylau early in 1807, but in June of that year Napoleon was able to strengthen his forces and inflict a decisive blow on the Russians at Friedland.

Peace was now proposed and was arranged by the two Emperors in person at Tilsit, on the river Niemen. Alexander was delighted to find that Napoleon did not demand of him any sacrifice of territory and that he even suggested the extension of the Russian boundaries at the expense of Turkey and Sweden. Prussia, however, was to lose heavily, and Napoleon only consented to the restoration of any of his lands to Frederick William on the direct intercession of the Tsar. The Prussian share in the Partitions of Poland (except part of West Prussia) was to be formed into the grand duchy of Warsaw, with the Elector of Saxony (now called King of Saxony), an ally of Napoleon, as Grand Duke. The Prussian territory west of the Elbe was surrendered, part of it being formed into a new kingdom of Westphalia, for Napoleon's brother Jerome. Saxony and Westphalia joined the Confederation of the Rhine. Various territorial adjustments were made, and the Tsar agreed to support the Continental System, which was being established by Napoleon against Great Britain. In a separate treaty between France and Prussia the latter was to support an army of occupation until a war indemnity, the amount of which was not fixed, was paid off, and her army for the future was to be limited to 42,000 men.

Napoleon was at the zenith of his power. The Tsar was his ally. Prussia was crushed so completely that for some time she ceased to be a factor in European affairs. Austria was afraid to move. Napoleon was not only supreme in a greatly enlarged France but he had established a number of vassal kingdoms and tributary states, so that his will was paramount everywhere in western and central Europe.

But he had not conquered Great Britain.

CHAPTER V

THE DECLINE OF NAPOLEON'S POWER

WITH the collapse of the Third Coalition and the conclusion of the Treaty of Tilsit in 1807 Great Britain stood alone against France for the fourth time in ten years. Napoleon, realising that British resistance was based on naval power and that Great Britain supported her navy out of the profits of her trade, concluded that if British commerce were ruined Great Britain would be compelled to reduce her fleet. He decided, therefore, to limit and, as far as possible, to destroy that trade.

While he was at Berlin in 1806 he issued the Berlin Decree, and in the following year he put forth a supplementary edict at Milan. These decrees began what is called the Continental System. Napoleon declared the British Isles to be in a state of blockade and forbade France and her allies to trade with this country. He further ordered that all European ports from the Vistula to the Adriatic were to be closed to British ships and, in order that British goods should not find their way into Europe in neutral ships, that neutral vessels which visited the continent after having touched at a British port were to be confiscated as prizes. British merchandise, wherever found, was to be destroyed. The British reply was contained in the Orders in Council by which the ports of France were declared to be in a state of blockade. Neutral ships were forbidden to go to the continent, and those on the way thither were to be diverted to British ports. In substance, Napoleon ordered that the continent should not buy British goods; Great Britain determined that if the continent would not buy British goods it should buy goods of no other country.

This commercial warfare continued till the fall of Napoleon. The Continental System inflicted much damage upon British trade by the closing of European markets to British goods, and, though no French fleet existed by which the blockade of Great Britain could be enforced, a large number of privateers inflicted heavy losses upon British merchant shipping. It was feared that Napoleon might seize the Danish fleet and use it against Great Britain, but a British squadron visited Copenhagen in 1807, bombarded the city, and captured the Danish fleet. But the counter-blockade of the continent by Great Britain caused much greater loss and suffering to the French and to other peoples subject to Napoleon. British industrial supremacy was by this time so well established that British products were really needed upon the continent, and a good deal of smuggling went on. Napoleon himself had to issue licences for the admission of British goods of various kinds. The earlier conquests of Napoleon had resulted in his new subjects enjoying prosperity and good government. The hardships now caused by the Continental System, especially to the middle and lower classes, reacted against him and caused widespread resentment, which developed into hatred of him and his rule.

The success of the Continental System depended upon its being applied universally; if any port on the continent was open to receive British merchandise the system was bound to fail. Portugal, which had always been friendly with Great Britain, was reluctant to exclude British trade, and Napoleon determined to enforce the system in that land. A treaty for the partition of Portugal was concluded between France and Spain, and troops of both countries, under Junot, invaded Portugal. Junot reached Lisbon only to find that the court had fled to Brazil, a Portuguese colony.

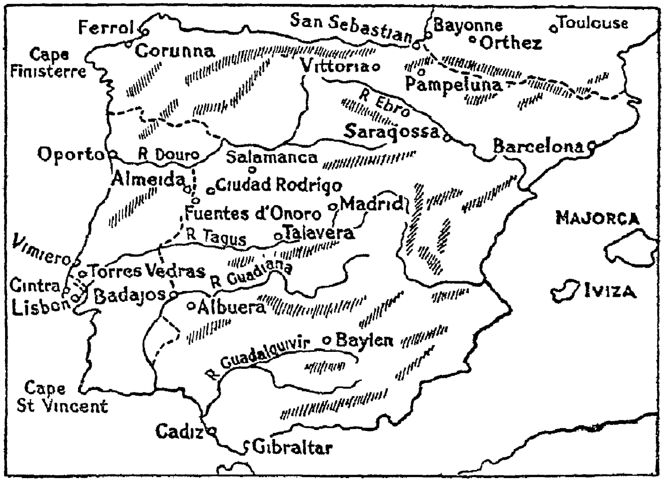
Even before Junot's entry into Lisbon Napoleon had taken action which he had been contemplating for some time against the King of Spain. Summoning Charles IV and his son Ferdinand to Bayonne he induced them, by threats or other means, to resign their rights to the Spanish crown. He thereupon appointed his brother Joseph to the vacant throne, and Murat was awarded the crown of Naples, now laid down by Joseph. Napoleon thus completed the dethronement of the Bourbons in Europe (with the exception of the Neapolitan Ferdinand in Sicily). Monarchs of this line had held the crowns of France, Spain, and Naples, which were now worn by Napoleon himself, his brother, and his brother-in-law. But he had overreached himself. The Spanish people were indignant at his high-handed action, and before long the country was in revolt against its new king. The Peninsular War had begun.

Napoleon underestimated the strength of Spanish national feeling, and he sent an army of raw conscripts under Dupont to restore order. The surrender of 18,000 of these men, with their general, at Baylen enheartened the Spaniards, and convinced the British Government that their resistance to Napoleon was not merely formal, but was a general national uprising. Great Britain was already morally bound to support Portugal in its resistance to the Continental System, and she now realised that an opportunity had arisen for conducting a land campaign against Napoleon with some prospect of success. Sir Arthur Wellesley was sent to Portugal in command of an army which defeated Junot at Vimiero. Unfortunately, Wellesley was superseded during the battle by Sir Harry Burrard, who in his turn gave place to Sir Hew Dalrymple. Dalrymple signed with Junot the Convention of Cintra, by which the French were permitted to return to France with the spoils of war instead of being compelled to surrender unconditionally. The generals were ordered home to England to defend their action before a court-martial, and Dalrymple and Burrard, though acquitted, were not sent back. Wellesley was held not to have been responsible and was restored to his command.

Joseph Bonaparte reached Madrid in 1808, but the hostility of his subjects and the news of Dupont's surrender to Spanish rebels at Baylen compelled him to withdraw beyond the Ebro. He was joined by Napoleon, who with an army of veteran troops recovered Madrid. When Sir John Moore, who was at this time in command of the British forces, advanced from Portugal into Spain, Napoleon turned towards him. Moore retreated towards Corunna, and Napoleon relinquished the pursuit to Marshal Soult, returning to Paris in January, 1809. Before embarking on the transports which were sent to receive them, the British had to beat off Soult's attack at Corunna, where Moore was slain.

Saragossa, which was besieged by the French, held out for some weeks at the beginning of 1809 and surrendered only after the most desperate resistance. Soult invaded Portugal and occupied Oporto, but Wellesley, upon his return from England, recovered it. By a brilliant march he threatened Soult's communications, and the French marshal retreated into Spain with the loss of fifty-eight guns. Wellesley marched farther east and defeated Marshal Victor and King Joseph at the Battle of Talavera; Soult, however, received reinforcements, and Wellesley retired into Portugal.

In 1810 a large French army under Masséna marched towards Lisbon, but was checked by a triple line of fortifications across the Peninsula between the Tagus and the sea. These lines of Torres Vedras, covering a front of nearly thirty miles and defended by hundreds of guns, formed the basis of British strategy in the war. Wellesley, who became Viscount Wellington after the Battle of Talavera, had constructed these lines secretly, and behind them he was able to receive reinforcements and equipment from Great Britain and so to build up a mighty army which ultimately drove the French back beyond the Pyrenees. The region in front of the lines had been cleared of supplies, and Masséna, after vainly trying to find a weak spot in the fortifications, retired into Spain early in 1811. Wellington ventured out and defeated Masséna at Fuentes d'Onoro, while Beresford besieged Badajos, a border fortress. He repulsed Soult at Albuera, but even with Wellington's aid he could not take Badajos, and the British withdrew into Portugal for the winter.


Ferrol
Cape Finisterre
Corunna
San Sebastian
Bayonne
Toulouse
Orthez
Vittoria
Pampeluna
R Ebro
Saragossa
Barcelona
Oporto
R Douro
Salamanca
Almeida
Ciudad Rodrigo
Fuentes d'Onoro
Madrid
Majorca
R Tagus
Talavera
Vimiero
Torres Vedras
R Guadiana
Cintra
Lisbon
Badajos
Albuera
Iviza
Guadalquivir
Baylen
Cape St Vincent
Cadiz
Gibraltar

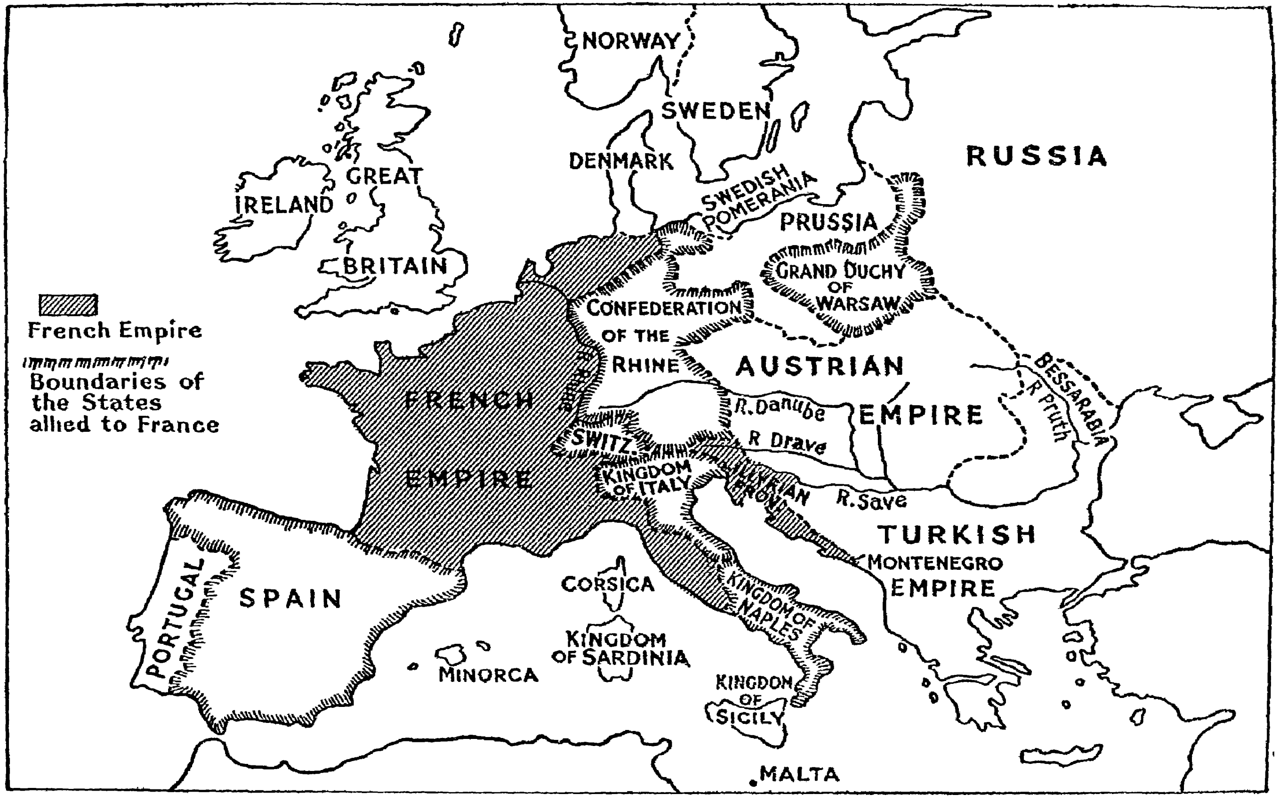
The Peninsular War

Early in 1812 the border fortresses of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos were taken by storm, and shortly afterwards the French forces in the Peninsula were seriously weakened by the withdrawal of troops which were required to take part in the Russian expedition. Wellington advanced into Spain and defeated Marmont, who had replaced Masséna, at Salamanca. This victory was the turning-point in the Peninsular War. Wellington, who had been made an earl after the fall of Ciudad Rodrigo and who now became a marquis, entered Madrid, but a fresh concentration of French armies compelled him to move back to Ciudad Rodrigo for the winter.

The victories of Wellington in 1812 encouraged the Spanish to look forward to the time when their land would be free from the French. But although their triumph over the invaders would involve the restoration of Ferdinand VII, they had little love for that monarch. A Cortes, or Assembly, met at Cadiz and drew up a constitution which declared the sovereignty of the people and drastically reduced the authority of the King. The constitution of 1812 was of little immediate importance, for the country was not yet delivered, and when Ferdinand was restored he resolved to disregard it. But it formed an ideal for which Liberals in several countries in the south of Europe strove in the years to come.

In 1813 the French fought a losing campaign. Napoleon withdrew more troops for the war in Germany. Joseph abandoned Madrid and retreated towards the Ebro. At Vittoria, Joseph and Marshal Jourdan suffered a crushing defeat, with the loss of a hundred and fifty guns, and their shattered troops fled in great disorder. The veteran Soult replaced Jourdan, but he was compelled to fall back, and after desperate fighting he was driven from the border fortresses of Pampeluna and San Sebastian into France. Wellington was now able to invade France, and early in 1814 he inflicted further defeats on Soult at Orthez and Toulouse. The Peninsular War was over. The French had been expelled from Portugal and Spain, and the adventure had cost the Emperor the lives of 200,000 men.

While the Peninsular War was in progress Napoleon was engaged in campaigns elsewhere. The early disasters to the French in the Peninsula, at Cintra and Baylen, had somewhat dimmed Napoleon's prestige. He arranged a meeting with Alexander at Erfurt in 1808, and the alliance of the two Emperors was renewed, but in 1809 the Austrians, thinking that Napoleon would be unable to spare a large army to fight against them, declared war for the fourth time in less than twenty years. But Napoleon marched against them with large forces and occupied Vienna. The main Austrian army, under



NORWAY
SWEDEN
DENMARK
RUSSIA
IRELAND
GREAT
BRITAIN
SWEDISH POMERANIA
PRUSSIA
GRAND DUCHY OF WARSAW
CONFEDERATION OF THE RHINE
AUSTRIAN
EMPIRE
BESSARABIA
R. Pruth
R. Rhine
R. Danube
R. Drave
R. Save
French Empire
Boundaries of the States allied to France
FRENCH
EMPIRE
SWITZ.
KINGDOM OF ITALY
ILLYRIAN PROV.
TURKISH
MONTENEGRO
EMPIRE
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
CORSICA
KINGDOM OF SARDINIA
MINORCA
KINGDOM OF NAPLES
KINGDOM OF SICILY
MALTA

EUROPE IN 1810

the Archduke Charles, lay on the northern bank of the Danube. A few miles below Vienna the stream of the Danube is divided by the island of Lobau. Napoleon decided to cross the river at this point. He found no difficulty in crossing the southern branch and occupying Lobau, but after 14,000 men had reached the northern bank of the Danube they were attacked by the Austrians and were hard pressed. They were reinforced next day, and the village of Aspern was captured and recaptured several times. Napoleon ultimately withdrew his men to Lobau, having suffered at Aspern a serious check. He made elaborate preparations for his next effort, and six weeks after the Battle of Aspern he succeeded in transferring an immense force from the south to the north bank of the Danube. The Battle of Wagram followed, and though victory rested with the French the Austrians retired in good order and with no greater losses than their enemies.

But the Emperor Francis feared to continue the war, and peace was made by the Treaty of Vienna. Austria was compelled to pay a large indemnity and to reduce her army to 150,000 men. She had to cede Galicia to the grand duchy of Warsaw and the Illyrian provinces (Carniola, Trieste and Fiume, and parts of Carinthia and Croatia) to France. The French Empire, with the kingdom of Italy, now stretched without a break as far as the border of Turkey, and Austria was cut off from the sea altogether. The peace was followed by the marriage, in 1810, of Napoleon to Marie Louise, daughter of Francis I.

The Tsar supported Napoleon in the Austrian war of 1809, but by the following year friction began to develop between them, and in course of time war became inevitable. Alexander was displeased by the French annexation of the duchy of Oldenburg, whose duke was his uncle, and also by the addition of Galicia to the grand duchy of Warsaw. The Tsar feared that Napoleon might be contemplating the revival of the kingdom of Poland, including those parts now Russian, and he made overtures to Austria. He suggested the cession of Galicia in exchange for certain Danubian lands, but the proposal met with so little favour that the Austrians opposed Russia in the war which followed. But the real reason for a breach between the French and Russian Emperors lay in the attitude of Alexander to the Continental System. Great harm was being done to Russian trade, and the Tsar issued decrees which placed heavy duties on French wines and silks and permitted the import of British colonial produce in neutral ships. Such a leak in the Continental System would jeopardise the whole scheme, and Napoleon determined on war.

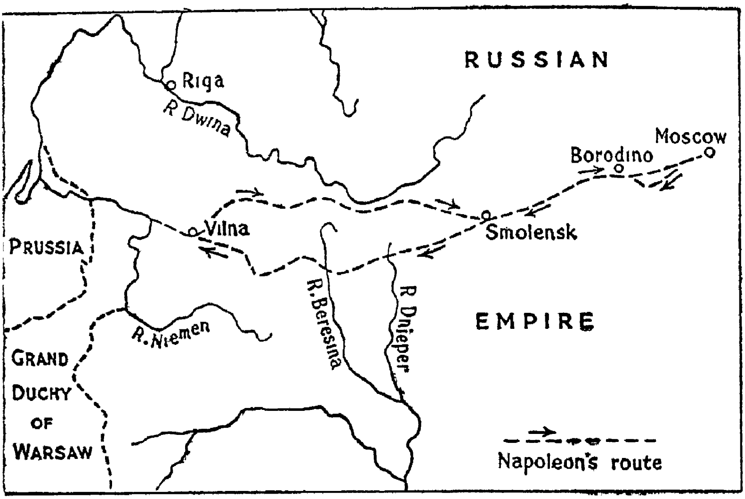
He believed the opportunity to be favourable, on account of Russian preoccupation with a war against Turkey, but the conclusion of peace between these two powers in May, 1812, released a large Russian army for action against the French. In April, 1812, the Tsar came to an understanding with Bernadotte, Crown Prince of Sweden, who had formerly been one of Napoleon's marshals. Sweden renounced her claim on Finland, which had recently been conquered by the Russians, and in return she was to receive Norway at the peace. As Norway was at this time ruled by the King of Denmark, an ally of France, this arrangement was a further defiance of Napoleon.

On his side Napoleon made treaties with both Prussia and Austria. A Prussian army of 20,000 men was to march with Napoleon and under his command, and other Prussian troops, under French orders, were to guard communications. Austria, distrusting the Tsar's intentions with regard to Poland and receiving from Napoleon a promise of the restoration of the Illyrian provinces, agreed to contribute 30,000 men (but under Austrian command) to the expedition. But neither Prussians nor Austrians could be trusted to exert themselves to the uttermost against the Russians, nor, if Napoleon should meet with defeat, to continue the fight at all.

Last-minute negotiations for peace between the two Emperors were attempted, but, though agreement might have been reached on other points, the Tsar's attitude towards the Continental System made peace impossible. With reserves and auxiliaries, Napoleon's forces in eastern Germany amounted to fully 600,000 men, of whom 100,000 were cavalry. In June 1812, without formal declaration of war, the Emperor crossed the Niemen with about two-thirds of this vast host. It was too large. Depots of food had been prepared, but commissariat arrangements broke down. Transport wagons could not keep pace with the army, desertion began, and thousands of men fell sick. The rough pasture afforded by the Russian plains proved unsuitable to the horses, and large numbers of them died.

Napoleon pushed on, and hoped to overtake the main

Russian army under Barclay de Tolly before it could effect a junction with a second army from the south, under Bagration. But the Russians retreated before him, drawing him ever farther east, and the two Russian armies united at Smolensk. Napoleon's original intention had been to limit the campaign of 1812 to the occupation of Poland and Lithuania and to embark upon further conquests in 1813. This course would have presented difficulties, especially of commissariat, but it is possible that the ultimate result of the campaign might have been very different. It could hardly have been worse.



THE CAMPAIGN OF 1812

On the Russian side the strategy of Barclay de Tolly had its critics. He abandoned Smolensk, to the great dissatisfaction of his men, and soon afterwards he was superseded by Kutusoff, who resolved to make a stand and give battle to the enemy. The Battle of Borodino resulted in immense losses on both sides, but it failed to stop Napoleon's march, and Barclay's policy of retreat and devastation was justified. At length the weary French reached Moscow, only to find the city almost deserted and bare of supplies. Fires broke out, no appliances were available for their extinction, and a large part of Moscow was destroyed. Napoleon had marched six hundred miles into a hostile country and had lost 200,000 men, and he had gained a city in ruins!

Napoleon expected that the Tsar would ask for terms of peace, and he waited for five weeks in the ancient capital of Muscovy. But Alexander was determined to make no peace while a single French soldier remained in arms on Russian soil, and though negotiations were opened by Kutusoff they appear to have been carried on chiefly in order to detain the French in the heart of Russia until the beginning of winter. If the return journey had been begun in the middle of September it might possibly have been completed without serious disaster; the start was delayed until the third week in October, and, although the weather remained fine for two or three weeks longer, the winter set in early in November. Napoleon attempted to return by a more southerly route in order to avoid the devastated country through which he had passed already, but Kutusoff was too strongly entrenched, and the Emperor was forced to take the road by which he had come.

Men half starved and inadequately clad were subject to the ceaseless attacks of the Russians, and only the heroic efforts of Marshal Ney, "the bravest of the brave," in command of the rear-guard, prevented the utter extermination of the rapidly dwindling remnant of the Grand Army. The river Beresina had to be crossed by temporary bridges under the fire of Russian cannon. One bridge collapsed, and large numbers of men were slain or drowned. At length Napoleon left his army and pushed on to Paris in order to raise fresh levies. A mere remnant of 20,000 men under Murat recrossed the Niemen at the end of the year, and when other straggling groups reappeared less than 50,000 men emerged of the 600,000 who had started on the venture.

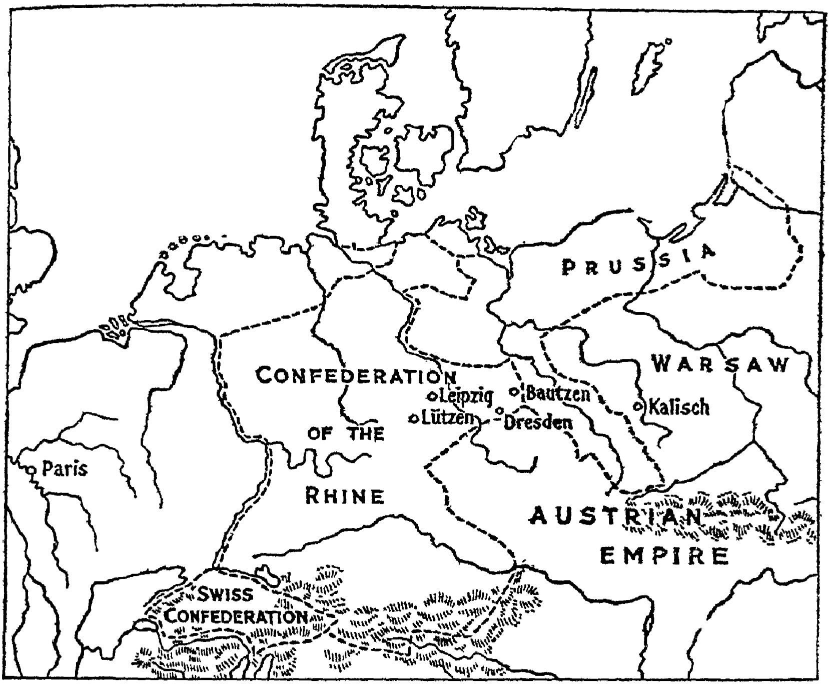
The disasters of 1812 led to the formation in 1813 of the Fourth Coalition and to the War of Liberation. By anticipating the conscription Napoleon enrolled mere boys in his ranks and was again at the head of an army. He was still powerful. Italy and the Confederation of the Rhine remained faithful to him, and Austria had not yet broken her alliance. But Prussia saw an opportunity of escaping from the heavy yoke imposed upon her in 1807, and she allied with Russia by the Treaty of Kalisch. At Lutzen Prussians and Russians were checked by Napoleon, and he repeated his victory at Bautzen, though the allies retired in good order. Meanwhile, the Austrian Government hoped to secure for itself a commanding position in the affairs of Europe and offered its mediation to Napoleon. But the French Emperor had no intention of accepting terms from a power to which in the past he had dictated them, and he preferred to fight.

Austria now joined the Coalition, which was financed by Great Britain, but an allied army was severely defeated at Dresden. At the same time, however, other French armies were defeated by Bernadotte, who had joined the Coalition, and by the Prussian marshal Blucher. Large allied armies converged on Leipzig, and Napoleon had to fight a battle on unfavourable ground. The conflict raged for three days, and it resulted in disaster for the Emperor, who retreated into France, having lost in 1813 nearly as many men as in 1812.

Napoleon's supremacy in central Europe was overthrown. Austria recovered the Illyrian provinces, Holland revolted from French rule, the Confederation of the Rhine collapsed, and Jerome's kingdom of Westphalia came to an end. In Italy all was confusion. Murat hoped by abandoning Napoleon's cause to become King of Italy, but had to retire to Naples. Eugène de Beauharnais retained Lombardy as long as possible, but at length he was compelled to retire to France, leaving northern Italy in Austrian possession.

Yet if Napoleon's diplomacy had been as sound as his strategy he might have retained his throne. The allies offered him terms of peace by which France would have remained in possession of her "natural boundaries," the Rhine and the Alps, provided that she acknowledged the independence of Holland and Germany, Italy and Spain. By the objections which he raised Napoleon practically rejected these terms, and the allies prepared to renew the war.

Early in 1814 three separate invasions of France occurred. As already stated, Wellington (on whom a dukedom was conferred at this time) advanced from Spain into France. The Austrians under Schwarzenberg entered by way of Switzerland, and Blucher with the Prussians crossed the Rhine. But the allies were suspicious of one another. The Tsar, who wished to be regarded as the liberator of Europe, was annoyed at the possibility of Blucher reaching Paris before the arrival of Russian troops; Prussians and Austrians feared that the Tsar was contemplating the establishment of Bernadotte on the French throne. Napoleon took advantage of these dissensions to defeat Blücher on the Marne. Other desperate battles were fought, in some of which Napoleon was victorious, in others defeated. But the allies pressed on to Paris. France was exhausted; resistance was at an end. Napoleon was deposed by the Senate, and a few days later he signed an act of abdication. He was permitted to retire to the island of Elba and to retain the title of Emperor. Louis XVIII, brother of Louis XVI, was restored to the throne of his ancestors, and it was with him that peace was made.


PRUSSIA
CONFEDERATION OF THE RHINE
Leipzig
Bautzen
Lützen
Dresden
Kalisch
WARSAW
Paris
AUSTRIAN EMPIRE
SWISS CONFEDERATION

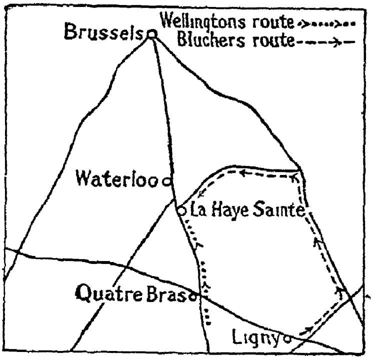
The War of Liberation

By the First Treaty of Paris France was reduced to the limits of 1st January, 1792 (with a slight frontier rectification towards Savoy). This implied the retention of Avignon and some other regions annexed in revolutionary times, but involved the loss of German, Dutch, Belgian, and Italian conquests. (For many centuries Avignon, on the Rhône, had been ruled by the Pope, but in 1790 its people rebelled against him. They wanted the town to become part of France, and, after some fighting, the French Government annexed it in 1791.) Most of the French colonies which were conquered during the war by Great Britain were restored, the only exceptions being Mauritius, Seychelles, Tobago, and St. Lucia. The balance of the indemnity due from Prussia under the treaty of 1807 was cancelled, but no indemnity was demanded of France, and no army of occupation was to be maintained within her borders. Nor, with few exceptions, were the works of art taken by Napoleon from conquered cities reclaimed. It was arranged that Holland should be restored to the House of Orange, that Germany should consist of a confederation of independent states, and that Italian princes should be restored.

These terms were regarded by the French as hard; discontent was felt in Great Britain at their moderation. France lost the conquests of twenty years; yet she was left larger than before the Revolution. She had bled Europe of treasure for many years; yet restitution was not required of her. She had elaborated a system for the destruction of British commerce; by the restoration of the French colonies Great Britain made possible the resumption of French overseas trade.

The settlement of Europe after the disturbances of twenty years presented numerous and difficult problems which it was decided to discuss at a Congress to be held at Vienna. The results of the deliberations at Vienna will be considered in another chapter, but it may be stated that at the Congress dissensions appeared of so serious a character that it seemed possible that further fighting might take place among the victorious powers. Napoleon at Elba watched with keen interest the course of events at Vienna, and hoped that the differences among his conquerors might be turned to his own advantage.

At the end of February, 1815, he left Elba and landed in the south of France with about a thousand men. In his march towards Paris he met with little opposition; regiments sent to oppose him fell in behind his standard; the peasants throughout the countryside welcomed him, and with a considerable force he reached the capital a day or two after Louis XVIII had fled. He declared that he wanted nothing but peace and expressed his intention of honouring the Treaty of Paris and of ruling as a constitutional monarch. But the allies at Vienna pronounced him to be an outlaw and a public enemy. They felt that Napoleon, if granted an interval of peace, would use it merely to consolidate his position and to prepare his forces for future wars. In the general interest it was necessary to crush him forthwith. Russia, Prussia, Austria, and Great Britain concluded a treaty by which each power agreed to contribute 150,000 men to the common cause, and other states joined the alliance.



THE WATERLOO CAMPAIGN

A double attack upon France was decided upon. Russians and Austrians were to enter by the east, British and Prussians by the north-east. The latter danger appeared to Napoleon to be the more pressing. Before Wellington and Blücher could invade France he marched against them with an army of 120,000 veterans, many of whom had been prisoners of war; they had been released at the fall of Napoleon, and they now rallied to the banner of their old leader.

Napoleon's aim was to prevent a junction of British and Prussians and to defeat them separately. He attacked Blücher at Ligny, while Ney engaged the British at Quatre Bras. Blücher was driven back, and Wellington, though he had repulsed the French at Quatre Bras, was compelled by Blücher's retirement to fall back to Waterloo. Blucher's retreat, however, was on a line parallel to the road taken by Wellington, and though Grouchy was ordered to pursue the Prussians he was too far behind them to prevent a junction which took place on the field of Waterloo.

The Battle of Waterloo was fought on 18th June, 1815. Napoleon did not expect the Prussians to come up, and his aim was to capture La Haye Sainte and break through the British left, thus placing himself between the British and Prussian armies and destroying all hope of their junction. The British troops steadily and stubbornly defended contested points against repeated attacks, and though ground was yielded at La Haye Sainte the line as a whole held firm, even against the onslaught of the Imperial Guard. The arrival of the Prussians and the general advance of the British line decided the battle. The French ranks broke, retreat became general, and pursuit was undertaken by the Prussian cavalry. Guns and equipment were abandoned. Napoleon himself fled to Paris, whither he was followed by the allies. His efforts to organise further resistance failed, and he retired to Rochefort. He embarked on a French frigate, but he surrendered a day or two later to Captain Maitland of the *Bellerophon*. On the order of the British Government he was transferred to the *Northumberland*, upon which he was conveyed to St. Helena, where he died in 1821.

The allies insisted on the restoration of Louis XVIII, it being felt that Bourbon rule in France was the best guarantee of peace. The Second Treaty of Paris, signed in November, 1815, while not so severe as the Prussians desired, was necessarily more drastic than that of 1814. France was reduced to the boundaries of 1790, except that she was permitted to retain Avignon. An indemnity of 700,000,000 francs (£28,000,000) was exacted, and an army of 150,000 men under the command of the Duke of Wellington was to be stationed in the north-east of France for a period of five years. Works of art taken by Napoleon from conquered European cities were to be restored.

Napoleon's fall was due to many causes. The almost unbroken succession of victories which marked the earlier years of his career was due not merely to inborn military genius but to careful planning and accurate foresight. He was less careful in these respects towards the end, and the members of his staff were of opinion that in the Russian campaign and the War of Liberation the qualities which distinguished him ten or fifteen years earlier were lacking. Nevertheless, many competent military critics hold that this view was mistaken and that Napoleon had lost none of his military skill with the passage of time.

His failure in the end was due to wider causes than this. France was exhausted by the strain of constant warfare. Conscription was rigorously enforced, and the nation poured forth its manhood until there was no more to give. Enormous losses were experienced in the Peninsula, in the Russian campaign, and in the War of Liberation, and this wastage of life could not be made good.

As the years rolled on and the burden of the Continental System was felt in every part of Europe, Napoleon became more and more disliked. The peoples of Europe regarded him as a despot whose yoke became year by year more burdensome.

Spanish and Portuguese in the south-west, Germans in central Europe, Russians in the east, were at one in their determination to free themselves from Napoleon's tyranny.

And throughout the long struggle Napoleon was faced by the might of Great Britain. The British fleet exercised ceaseless vigilance, enclosing the continent in a strangle-hold from which there was no escape. Behind the fleet British industry developed and British commerce throve, and the increasing wealth of the country enabled it to hold on until Napoleon's career was ended. The British navy, indeed, contributed in no small degree to his failure. In the early part of the war the skill of admirals and the bravery of seamen achieved the destruction of enemy fleets and freed the country from the fear of invasion. Enemy colonies were captured and enemy trade was strangled, while, despite the depredations of privateers, the seas were kept open for British trade. Wellington in Spain remained in uninterrupted communication with Great Britain, and the fleets kept him regularly supplied with the reinforcements and equipment which enabled him to build up the magnificent army with which he drove the French from Spain.

The career of Napoleon has been described as meteoric, but the adjective is inadequate. He was more than a flash across the European sky; his career left lasting effects, some good, some bad. As the nineteenth century rolled on, Europe presented to an increasing extent the appearance of an armed camp. Every continental power maintained a huge conscript army. It can hardly be doubted that this high degree of military activity was stimulated by the example of Napoleon.

In other and better respects also the nineteenth century owed much to Napoleon. In his conquests many an ancient throne crashed, many a petty despotism was destroyed. Highly efficient French rule replaced the old autocracy in many parts of the continent. Feudal privileges and feudal burdens disappeared wherever Napoleon held sway, and in their place were set up the principles of the *Code Napoléon*. Public finances were put in order, communications were improved, trade was developed, education was encouraged, corruption, if not absent, was checked. And though Napoleon's rule was overthrown, a higher standard of government was set, which provided an example for later rulers.

The spirit of nationality was awakened in every part of Europe by the tyranny of Napoleon. In the earlier part of his career he had appeared as a liberator, freeing subject peoples from oppression; in course of time they found that their new "freedom" was more burdensome than their former serfdom. And, as the years passed and the iron hand of Napoleon pressed ever more heavily on them, Prussians and Austrians, Italians and Spanish, became conscious of their nationality as they had never been before. This national spirit contributed to the downfall of Napoleon, but, when that result was achieved, the national spirit continued to exist and had further effects. An ancient despotism could not maintain itself permanently over people who were fully aware that they were of one blood and one language, and who aspired to freedom. Outbreaks occurred, and sooner or later constitutional liberty was secured. Such countries as Italy and Germany, which had been divided and subdivided for centuries, achieved unity and became great powers. Others, such as Belgium and the Balkan States, secured independence of alien rule. These and similar examples indicate that the spirit of nationality aroused by Napoleon became a vital factor in the development of modern Europe.

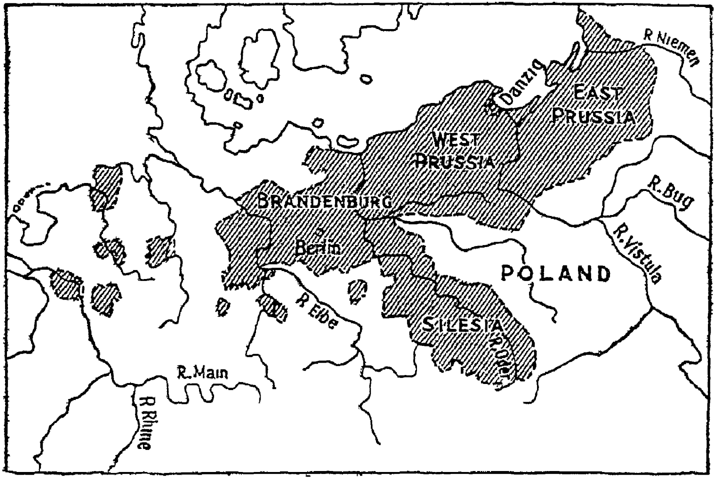
CHAPTER VI

THE COLLAPSE AND REVIVAL OF PRUSSIA

FREDERICK THE GREAT, King of Prussia from 1740 to 1786, inherited from his father a large, well-trained, and well-organised army, with which, in his first struggle with Maria Theresa, he conquered the province of Silesia. In the Seven Years War he had to fight against a ring of enemies to maintain the very existence of his kingdom, and he emerged from the conflict without loss of territory and with the tacit recognition that Prussia was henceforth one of the great powers of Europe. In the First Partition of Poland, 1772, Frederick received the provinces of West Prussia, Ermeland, and Kulmerland, which connected East Prussia with Brandenburg, and he thus began to link up his scattered dominions, although some parts were still detached.

In the latter part of his reign Frederick devoted much attention to the development of agriculture, trade, and communications. He endeavoured to attract settlers within the Prussian dominions, and he offered state assistance to enable them to begin farming. But he did not abolish the orders—nobles, burghers, and peasants—into which the people were divided. Feudalism still existed. The nobles formed the privileged class, exempt from most of the taxation. To them the King looked for officers for his army and for rulers for his towns and villages. The peasants were still serfs in many parts of the Prussian dominions. They bore the weight of taxation and were subject in many ways to their lords. To some extent, however, they could rely on royal protection against intolerable oppression, since the King looked to them to supply the rank and file for his army. Frederick the Great issued edicts against the abuses of serfdom, but nobles and officials carried them out in such a way that they were ineffective.

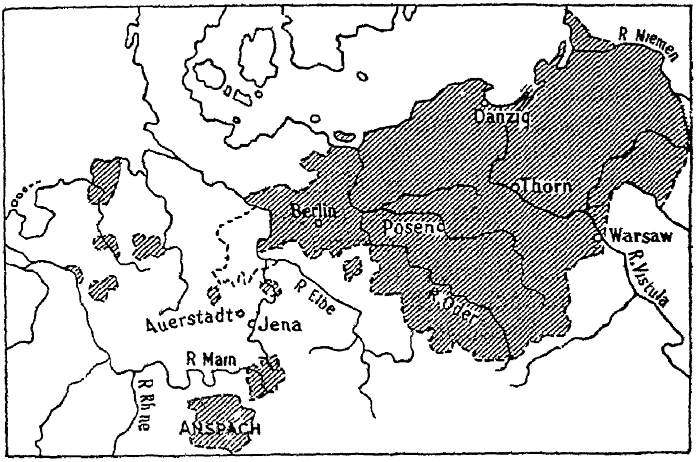
Frederick was a vigorous ruler, and he expected and received the obedience of his subjects; the weakness of his system lay in the fact that it depended upon him. His people were so much accustomed to submission that they were helpless when the master-mind was removed, and at his death his system fell into decay. Frederick William II (1786–97) was pleasure-loving, and he was incapable of carrying on the government with his predecessor's vigour. In a country in which every part of the public service was under the control of the monarch the weakness of the King was at once reflected throughout the state. Abuses abounded, but for some time the growing weakness of Prussia was not apparent to her neighbours.



Prussian Territories in 1789

Frederick William was not at first alarmed at the outbreak of the French Revolution. It is probable that he regarded the troubles in France as important mainly because, while they lasted, they would render France powerless to influence the course of European affairs. The state of Poland occupied his attention. He suspected the intentions of Catherine II with regard to that country and did not wish to be involved in a war with France while the Polish situation remained uncertain. As stated in an earlier chapter, he met Leopold II in 1791 at Pillnitz, where *émigré* nobles and princes exhorted the two monarchs to restore order in France. The Declaration of Pillnitz probably meant little to either of them, since the suggestion of intervention was conditional upon other states being associated with it, and it was most unlikely that Great Britain would move in the matter.

But events moved rapidly, and when, in April, 1792, France declared war against Austria, Frederick William treated the declaration as applying to him also. Prussian forces under the Duke of Brunswick invaded France and captured Longwy and Verdun, but they were defeated at Valmy and soon withdrew across the frontier. France was threatened with invasion again in 1793, but the allies were suspicious of each other. The Austrian alliance was distasteful to Prussian officers who had fought under Frederick the Great and had always regarded Austria as the enemy of their country. The allies failed to co-operate, and soon retired. Prussia, with her eye on Poland, took little further part in the war, and in 1795 peace was concluded by the Treaty of Basel. France was to retain certain Prussian territories west of the Rhine, but agreed not to make war against states north and east of a line agreed upon. Prussia was to obtain compensation for her lost lands by seizing territories farther east.



Prussian Territories after the Treaty of Basel and the Final Partition of Poland, 1795

In 1793 the Second Partition of Poland occurred, and Prussia was enlarged by the addition of Danzig and of a stretch of territory which included Posen and Thorn. From the final Partition, in 1795, Prussia obtained Warsaw and the region south and west of the Niemen.

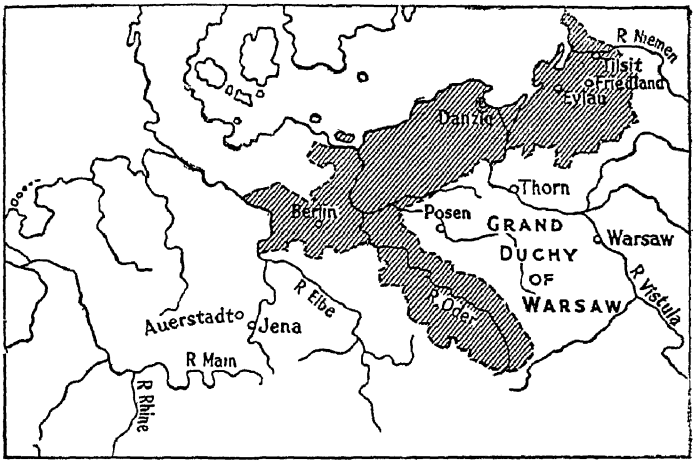
The Treaty of Basel had the merit of giving peace to North

Germany for several years. Prussia took no part in the war of the Second Coalition. In 1797 Frederick William II died and was succeeded by Frederick William III, an abler man than his father, who remained on outwardly friendly terms with France for the first few years of his reign. He continued the work of Frederick the Great in improving the condition of the peasants, and the process of transforming them from serfs into landed proprietors went on. Some reforms were made in the government of certain of the Prussian provinces. Tariffs were rearranged, and some internal customs were abolished.

Frederick William was offended by the high-handed action of Napoleon during the war of the Third Coalition. (Reference has already been made to the events which followed, but they may be briefly recapitulated here.) In their march against Austria, French troops had crossed the Prussian province of Anspach without permission, and this happened at a time when Frederick William, as a neutral, was refusing passage to the Tsar's troops in the east. He now agreed with the Tsar to offer mediation and to join the Coalition if Napoleon declined the proposal. But the French victory at Austerlitz altered the situation, and Frederick William allied with France, being permitted to occupy Hanover. The Prussian King did not wish to offend Great Britain and proposed to make the occupation only provisional until a general peace was established, but Napoleon insisted upon Prussia annexing the province. Not long afterwards Napoleon was negotiating for peace with the English on the basis of the return of Hanover to them.

This insult to the King of Prussia brought war nearer, and after the formation of the Confederation of the Rhine Frederick William allied with the Tsar and demanded that Napoleon should withdraw his troops west of the Rhine. But Prussia was in no condition to face the French armies. Her military system was antiquated. The noble officers were harsh towards their men, the peasant conscripts were sullen, and discipline was maintained by flogging. Many of the officers, moreover, were old and inefficient. Napoleon moved rapidly against the Prussians before the Russians could march to the assistance of their allies, and he overthrew one army at Jena on the same day as Davoust defeated a second army at Auerstädt. Fortresses surrendered to the French in rapid succession; Napoleon entered Berlin, and Frederick William retired to East Prussia.

Peace was not concluded until after the Treaty of Tilsit. Napoleon at first contemplated the complete destruction of the Prussian kingdom, but in deference to the Tsar's wishes he permitted Frederick William to resume the throne of a much diminished realm. The provinces west of the Elbe and most of the Prussian gains from the Partitions of Poland were lost. A crushing war indemnity, the amount of which was not even fixed at first, was levied. A French army of occupation was to remain on Prussian soil until it was paid off, and the Prussian army was to be limited in future to 42,000 men.



Prussian Territories after the Treaty of Tilsit, 1807

Prussia profited by her misfortunes. The old military system had broken down utterly, and Frederick William recognised that reform must come. Hardenberg, a Prussian minister who was regarded as friendly to Great Britain, was dismissed at the command of Napoleon, and Frederick William entrusted the task of reorganising the state to Stein, who issued a series of decrees. Serfdom was abolished, and, though certain rights of the lords over their serfs were at first allowed to remain, a subsequent edict (by Hardenberg, who returned to office in 1810) freed the peasants from their burdens in return for the yielding of one-third of their lands to their lords. The rigid distinctions between the classes of the people were relaxed. Citizens were permitted to hold commissions in the army and were able to purchase the lands of nobles. Nobles, on the other hand, were allowed henceforth to engage in trade. Stein denounced the lack of interest exhibited by the Prussian people in the affairs of their country, and rightly attributed it to their exclusion from the work of government. He contrasted the apathy which existed in Prussia with the vigorous public opinion which exercised an important influence on affairs in Great Britain. He did not believe in democracy, but he thought that it would be well for the people to have some interest, however small, in the work of government. Towns were permitted henceforth to choose their own councils, which were entrusted with some features of local government, such as the maintenance of streets and the relief of the poor. The central Government was reorganised, and a State Council of ministers was established. The duties of government were apportioned among ministers on a more satisfactory basis than hitherto, and the civil service was improved.

Stein held office for little more than a year. He met with a good deal of opposition in Prussia, especially from the nobles, who regarded him as a revolutionary. He wished Prussia to take advantage of the French difficulties in Spain, but Napoleon suspected his designs, and he was forced to resign. Napoleon ordered his banishment, and Frederick William dared not refuse, but his work was carried on by Hardenberg, who reformed the financial system and freed industry from the control of the gilds. The great Prussian statesman retired to Vienna and then to St. Petersburg, and wherever he went he became the centre of influences hostile to Napoleon. He did much to arouse in the people among whom he lived feelings of patriotic fervour. But his greatest work was his regeneration of Prussia. In a twelvemonth he left an indelible impress on the Prussian state.

Another notable Prussian minister of this period was Humboldt, who was interested in education. He brought about the establishment of the University of Berlin, and he reformed the public schools. The value of his work was seen in the enthusiasm with which the University supported the national cause in the War of Liberation.

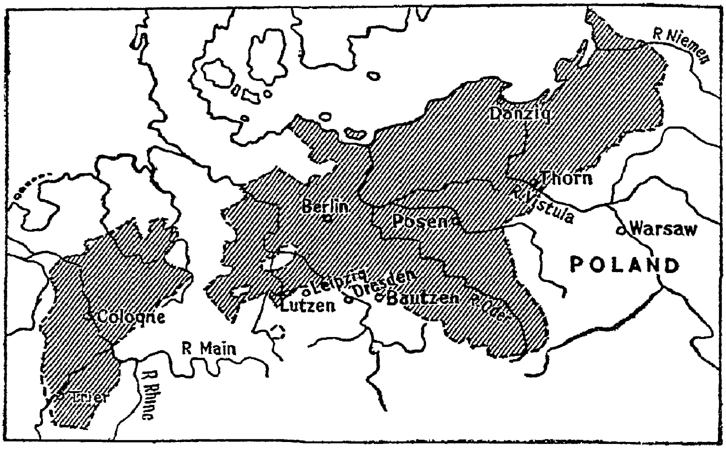
Reform in the Prussian military system was effected by Scharnhorst and Gneisenau, and it was conducted on principles similar to those followed by Stein. Commissions were no longer monopolised by the nobles but were granted to suitable men of the citizen class. Old and incompetent officers were removed. The conditions of service in the ranks were improved. Citizens as well as peasants were enlisted, and imprisonment was substituted for flogging as the normal method of punishment. By Napoleon's command the Prussian army was restricted to 42,000 men, but Scharnhorst devised a system by which men were enlisted and trained for a short period and were then passed into the reserve so that their places might be taken by others. The stipulated number was never exceeded; yet in three or four years Prussia had 150,000 trained men at her disposal. New equipment was provided, and guns of improved pattern were cast.

Frederick William viewed with alarm the prospect of war between Napoleon and the Tsar in 1812. The Prussian state had been saved in 1807 as the result of Alexander's intercession; if Russia were defeated Prussia might be destroyed altogether. On the other hand, a victorious Russia might annex the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, which consisted largely of the Prussian share in the Partitions of Poland. Frederick William conducted negotiations with both sides. If he could have been certain of Russian assistance he would have declared war against Napoleon, but the Tsar decided upon a defensive campaign and would not promise to send troops to Prussia. In the end Frederick William was forced to promise assistance to Napoleon to the extent of 20,000 men under French command.

The Prussian corps, under Yorck, formed part of the army of Marshal Macdonald in the siege of Riga. With the retreat of the French from Russia, Macdonald withdrew west of the Niemen, but Yorck, without the sanction of his king, concluded an agreement with the Russians. Frederick William hesitated whether to endorse or to disavow the action of his general, but before long he decided to ally with the Tsar, and Yorck's action was approved.

The part played by the Prussian forces in the War of Liberation has been referred to in a previous chapter. Prussians fought in the battles in Saxony and took part in the overthrow of Napoleon at Leipzig. A Prussian army under Blücher invaded France in 1814 in conjunction with other members of the Coalition, and Blücher shared with Wellington the glory of the final defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo.

By the settlement effected at Vienna Prussia recovered much of her lost territory, and acquired other lands which more than compensated her for the Polish provinces which remained in Russian possession. She was once more a great power, greater than in the days of Frederick. She had benefited by adversity;


R Niemen
Danzig
Thorn
R Vistula
Berlin
Posen
Warsaw
POLAND
Leipzig
Dresden
Lutzen
Bautzen
R Oder
Cologne
R Main
R Rhine
Trier

PRUSSIAN TERRITORIES AFTER THE SETTLEMENT AT VIENNA, 1815

she had shaken off the trammels of outworn systems; the spirit of the people had been aroused; she was ready to fulfil her destiny in the nineteenth century as the leader of the German nation.

CHAPTER VII

EASTERN EUROPE BETWEEN 1789 AND 1815

FOR some time after the outbreak of the French Revolution the attention of European statesmen was concentrated upon affairs in eastern Europe, and the disturbances in France appeared to be important chiefly because that country was no longer able to exert an effective influence upon the course of affairs beyond her borders.

Poland had for many years been in no condition to repel attack. The crown was elective, and a vacancy was usually the signal for civil war. The Polish nobles were privileged and selfish, and the peasants were serfs. Though the mass of the people were Catholic, the land was distracted with religious dissensions which invited the intervention of both Russia (in defence of the Orthodox) and Prussia (as the champion of the Lutherans), and her frontiers were open to any invader. By the First Partition, in 1772, Poland lost important provinces to Russia, Prussia, and Austria, and it was probable that when circumstances were favourable further annexations would be made.

For a time, however, the attention of Austria and Russia was directed towards Turkey, at whose expense they planned to acquire territory. Catherine annexed the Crimea in 1785, and war was carried on for some years. Had the struggle been waged with singleness of purpose it is possible that the Turks might have been driven from Europe at this time. But Joseph II had difficulties with his own subjects, in Hungary and in the Netherlands, and Leopold II, who succeeded his brother in 1790, made peace with Turkey in the following year at Sistova. Moreover, Russia had to meet and repel an attack by Gustavus III of Sweden in 1788. The Swedish King was compelled, however, to withdraw from Russian territory on account of a Danish attack upon his own land. This would have left Catherine free to renew her Turkish designs, had events in Poland not convinced her of the need for action in that quarter, and she concluded peace with the Turks at Jassy in 1792.

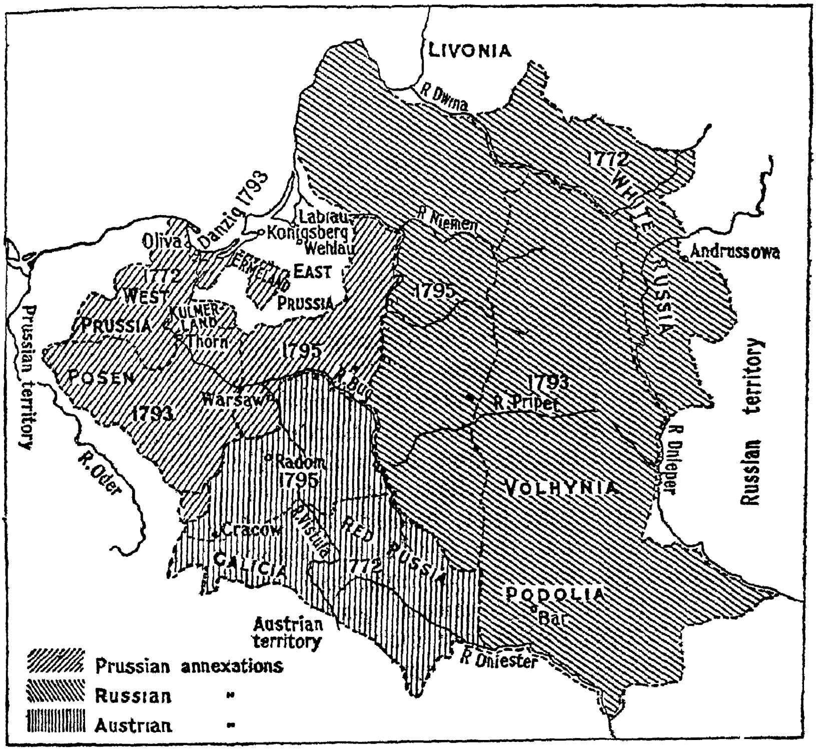
The more intelligent and patriotic of the Poles hoped to take advantage of the Russian preoccupation in the war with Turkey by introducing reforms in their own land. A new constitution was established, by which the monarchy was henceforth to be hereditary, the privileges of the nobles were to be curtailed, and a legislature of two chambers was to be set up. The religious question was to be settled by the retention of Catholicism as the state religion, toleration being granted at the same time to the Orthodox and the Lutherans. Serfdom, however, was not abolished, although some efforts were made to diminish its burdens.

The course of events in Poland was pleasing to neither Frederick William nor Catherine. The hereditary crown of Poland was offered to the Elector of Saxony (earlier in the eighteenth century two Electors of Saxony had been Kings of Poland), and a united kingdom of Saxony and Poland would be a serious menace to Prussia. The maintenance of Russian influence in Poland depended upon a continuance of the old disorder, and for that reason Catherine viewed the new constitution with disfavour, and she hastened on her peace with the Turks in order that she might be free to deal with her neighbour. But Leopold II was disposed to support the new order of things for precisely the reason that led Frederick William to frown upon it—that it would provide a check upon Prussian power. Austria, however, was too fully occupied with the French war at this time to intervene effectively, and early in 1793 Russia and Prussia carried out the Second Partition. Prussia received Thorn, Posen, Danzig, and other territories, while Russia annexed Volhynia and Podolia. Austria received no share.

Polish patriots under Kosciuszko now organised a rising to undo the work of this Second Partition and to restore the Polish kingdom to its former limits. Kosciuszko met with some initial successes. He seized Cracow and Warsaw, but the struggle was bound to fail. The nobles were alienated by Kosciuszko's concessions to the peasants, and the townsmen held aloof. A Russian army defeated the brave Kosciuszko and recovered Warsaw. Prussian and Austrian armies invaded Poland, and the Third and final Partition was agreed upon. Russia seized the lands between the lower Dwina and Galicia.

Prussia took the region between the Bug and the Niemen, including Warsaw, and Austria annexed a stretch of territory south of Warsaw. Poland as an independent state ceased to exist.

Catherine II was succeeded in 1796 by Paul I, who two years later joined the Second Coalition against France. He was angered by the lack of co-operation on the part of his allies, and before the end of 1799 he withdrew from the war. The British determination to control neutral commerce with blockaded ports led to the formation in 1800 of a Northern League, consisting of Russia, Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden (really a revival of the Armed Neutrality formed in 1780), to resist British action. In 1801, however, the Tsar was murdered, and his son Alexander I ascended to the throne. The new Tsar


LIVONIA
R. Dwina
1772
WHITE RUSSIA
Andrussowa
Russian territory
R. Dnieper
Prussian territory
Danzig 1793
Oliva
Labiau
Königsberg
Wehlau
ERMELAND
EAST PRUSSIA
R. Niemen
1795
1772
WEST PRUSSIA
KULMER-LAND
Thorn
1795
POSEN
1793
Warsaw
R. Bug
1793
R. Pripet
R. Oder
Radom
1795
Cracow
Vistula
RED RUSSIA
GALICIA
1772
VOLHYNIA
PODOLIA
Bar
Austrian territory
R. Dniester
▨ Prussian annexations
▧ Russian "
▥ Austrian "

The Partitions of Poland

reversed his father's policy, and as Great Britain made some concessions on the matters in dispute the Northern League collapsed.

In the early years of his reign Alexander attempted many reforms in the social and economic conditions of his country. He tried to improve the lot of the serfs, and he devoted some attention to education. He encouraged industry and trade, but he found in course of time that all his efforts were of little value.

Russia took part in the war of the Third Coalition, and, after the Treaty of Tilsit, was for some years in alliance with France. Alexander's chief adviser during this period was Speranski, a man of great ability, who endeavoured to reorganise the Russian financial system on sound lines. He attempted a codification of Russian law, and in this he was influenced by the *Code Napoléon*. He was thus suspected of excessive admiration for French institutions, and as the French alliance was disliked in Russia Speranski became unpopular. With the outbreak of war with France in 1812 he was dismissed.

The Tsar's reforming days were now wellnigh over. He posed, indeed, as the liberator of Europe from the despotism of Napoleon, but in 1815 he suggested the Holy Alliance, which became for many years the instrument of reaction in many parts of Europe. At first, indeed, nothing was farther from the Tsar's mind than that the Holy Alliance should be merely repressive. He was even thought to be well disposed to the establishment of constitutional government in the various states of Europe, but before many years he passed under the spell of Metternich, with whom he co-operated in the maintenance of despotism.

Gustavus III of Sweden was murdered in 1792 and was succeeded by his son Gustavus IV. This king was for some years friendly with Great Britain and refused to adhere to Napoleon's Continental System, but war with Russia followed. Finland was conquered by the Russians in 1809, and the Swedes were compelled to close their ports to British goods. Early in 1809 Gustavus was deposed, and the crown was conferred on his uncle, Charles XIII, but as the new king had no children it was decided that the succession should be offered to the French marshal Bernadotte, who was popular in Sweden. Bernadotte, as Crown Prince, adopted a line of policy by no means in accord with Napoleon's views. In 1812 he demanded of Napoleon the cession of Norway from Denmark as the price of an alliance. Napoleon refused, and the ex-marshal concluded an agreement with the Tsar, by which Sweden renounced her claim on Finland and was to receive Norway at the peace. Bernadotte took part in the War of Liberation, but his moderation caused him to be suspected of aspiring to succeed Napoleon as Emperor of the French. He made a separate peace with Denmark by the Treaty of Kiel, in which he received Norway in exchange for Swedish Pomerania. The acquisition of Norway by Sweden was confirmed by the Congress of Vienna, but Swedish Pomerania was assigned to Prussia. The Norwegians offered some resistance to Swedish control, but they were crushed by Bernadotte's prompt action.

Turkey was ruled by Selim III from 1789 to 1807, and under this prince many abuses were remedied; part of the army was reorganised after the Western fashion, and in many ways efforts were made to arrest the decay of the Empire. But the Tsar Alexander was intent upon the traditional policy of his family—the advance of Russia in the direction of Constantinople. War had broken out before Selim was deposed in 1807, and by the Treaty of Tilsit it was agreed between Alexander and Napoleon that Turkey should be compelled through French mediation to accept Russian terms. If the Turks refused peace they were to be deprived of all their European lands except Roumelia and Constantinople. An armistice was concluded between Russia and Turkey in August, 1807, but fighting was renewed in 1809 and continued for some years.

Napoleon, despite the Treaty of Tilsit, was by no means pleased at the prospect of Russian advance in the Balkans, and when he was preparing for the campaign of 1812 he angled for an alliance with Turkey against Russia on the basis of the restoration of the Crimea to Turkish rule. But the Tsar offered to restore Moldavia and Wallachia, which his troops occupied, and to retain only Bessarabia, and these terms were included in the Treaty of Bucharest, 1812. As had been the case twenty years earlier, Turkey was saved not by her own vigour but by the dissensions of the powers of Europe.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA AND THE CONCERT OF EUROPE

THE turmoil of war had left the Europe of 1815 in a very different condition from that of the eighteenth century. Several states had ceased to exist, and the boundaries of many others had been modified again and again. After the fall of Napoleon in 1814 it was decided that a Congress should be held at Vienna to settle the affairs of the continent. All the great powers and most of the lesser states were represented at the Austrian capital by sovereigns or statesmen. The Tsar, the King of Prussia, the Austrian Emperor, and many lesser potentates were present in person. The French representative was Talleyrand, and British interests were in the charge of Lord Castlereagh, the Foreign Secretary. Metternich, the Austrian Chancellor, was the president of the Congress, and exercised great influence in shaping its policy. The Congress had its social side, and during its meetings, which lasted several months, Vienna was the scene of diversions and festivities which stood in marked contrast with the misery of a blood-stained continent.

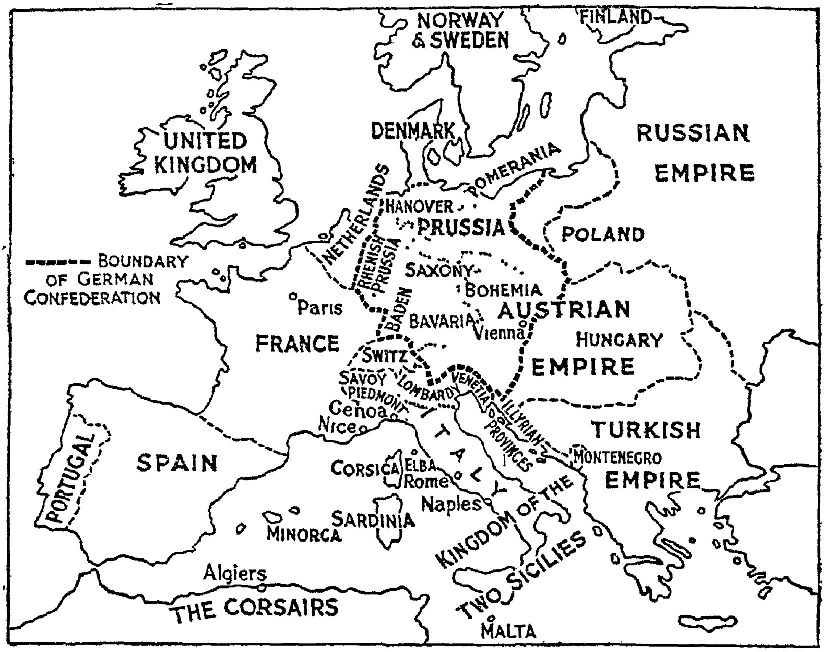
Much of the work of the Congress was done through committees, and some parts of the settlement were the results of negotiations and intrigues carried on within smaller groups. Moreover, few of the powers entered upon the discussions with open minds; most of them had already entered into agreements for which they tried to secure the approval of the Congress. Many of the Vienna decisions, therefore, had been reached before the Congress opened.

In making its arrangements the Congress displayed a natural tendency to reward those states which had opposed Napoleon and to penalise those which had supported him. It wished, further, to strengthen the states in proximity to France in order to diminish the likelihood of a renewal of trouble from that quarter, and it sought to take precautions against revolutionary outbreaks in future. It professed to base its decisions upon the principle of "legitimacy," which implied the restoration, as far as possible, of the authority of "rightful" sovereigns. But this principle was applied only in certain cases. Had it been enforced everywhere Europe would have been restored to its pre-war condition, but a return to the state of affairs which was in existence in 1792 would have been satisfactory to few, if any, of the powers represented at Vienna, and in any case, would have been impossible. The Holy Roman Empire had ceased to exist, and this relic of the Middle Ages could not be restored. The Congress viewed republican institutions with such disfavour that the revival of the Venetian and Genoese republics could hardly be contemplated, and although the Tsar wished to re-establish the Kingdom of Poland it was with himself as King.

It was settled that Germany should become a confederation of independent states, under the leadership of Austria. Suggestions for a closer union, which might lead to a strong empire under Prussian control, were opposed by Metternich, and more than half a century was to elapse before German unity was achieved. The Congress recognised the right of Austria to the Illyrian provinces, which had been lost in 1809 and recently recovered. Austria, however, did not desire to recover her former possessions in the Netherlands; she received compensation in the north of Italy, where Lombardy and Venetia were restored to her. The ex-Empress Marie Louise, who, it will be remembered, was the daughter of Francis I, became Duchess of Parma, in which state, therefore, Austrian influence was predominant, though the French system of government was retained.

Prussia left most of her share of Polish territory in the hands of Russia and received in exchange part of Saxony, whose king was punished for his support of Napoleon by the loss of nearly half of his kingdom. Prussia also received Swedish Pomerania and recovered her Rhenish lands, to which were added the greater part of the old electorates of Cologne and Treves. Although the Hohenzollern territories thus remained scattered, the political importance of these arrangements was considerable. The withdrawal of Austria from the Netherlands and the strengthening of Prussia on the Rhine made the latter the natural protector of Germany against France, and this was a definite and important factor in the elevation of Prussia to the leadership of the German Empire in the course of the nineteenth century.

The settlements elsewhere may be noted briefly. The annexation of Finland by Russia was recognised by the Congress, and Sweden, which lost this province and Swedish Pomerania, was permitted to retain Norway, which she had already received from Denmark (another example of reward and punishment). The Bourbon king, Ferdinand, was restored in Spain. Belgium, formerly the Austrian Netherlands, was joined to Holland, which became a kingdom under the rule of the Prince of Orange. The Swiss Confederation was restored, with the addition of three cantons. The King of Sardinia recovered Piedmont, Nice, and Savoy, and added Genoa to his dominions. (France was thus hemmed in on the east by four important powers, Dutch, Prussian, Swiss, and Piedmontese.) The King of the Two Sicilies recovered Naples, and the Pope's authority was restored over the States of the Church.


NORWAY & SWEDEN
FINLAND
UNITED KINGDOM
DENMARK
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
POMERANIA
NETHERLANDS
HANOVER
PRUSSIA
POLAND
RHENISH PRUSSIA
SAXONY
BOHEMIA
------ BOUNDARY OF GERMAN CONFEDERATION
Paris
BADEN
BAVARIA
AUSTRIAN EMPIRE
Vienna
HUNGARY
FRANCE
SWITZ
SAVOY
PIEDMONT
LOMBARDY
VENETIA
ILLYRIAN PROVINCES
Genoa
Nice
TURKISH EMPIRE
MONTENEGRO
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
CORSICA
ELBA
Rome
ITALY
Naples
KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES
SARDINIA
MINORCA
Algiers
THE CORSAIRS
MALTA

EUROPE IN 1815

Great Britain kept some of her acquisitions overseas, including Malta, Ceylon, Mauritius, and the Cape of Good Hope, but the British Government paid the sum of £6,000,000 to the King of Holland as compensation for the loss of the Cape and a few minor possessions. Hanover, now recognised as a kingdom, passed once more under the rule of George III.

The obvious criticism of these arrangements is that they were made in the interests of the sovereigns and without consulting the wishes of the peoples of Europe. The Belgians resented their connection with Holland, Norway disliked its union with Sweden, the Poles never forgot their lost independence. Italians wanted a united Italy, Germans a united Germany. Yet Napoleon had been overthrown by the peoples and not merely by the sovereigns of the continent. While the French Emperor was face to face with the despotic governments of the eighteenth century he was victorious; when he had to meet the grim and determined opposition of the nations which resented his tyranny he was mastered. He aroused against himself the national spirit in Spain, in Russia, and in Germany, and this proved to be his undoing. But the diplomats at Vienna disregarded the national spirit, and since, during the nineteenth century, popular wishes proved to be more powerful than royal interests, the settlement failed to be permanent. The history of Europe in the nineteenth century is to a large extent the record of the undoing of the work of the Congress of Vienna.

On one matter the policy suggested by Great Britain was accepted by other European powers before the Congress of Vienna separated. The abolition of the slave trade had been decided upon by this country in 1807. At Vienna the other powers, France, Spain, Portugal, and Holland, which were interested in this inhuman traffic agreed to end it, although each country was left to determine from what date and under what conditions it should begin to enforce the prohibition.

The Congress of Vienna also considered the question of the Barbary Corsairs and decided that the time had arrived for their extermination. For centuries the commerce of the Mediterranean and the coasts of western Europe had been subject to the raids of the corsairs, whose captives had been kept in lifelong servitude. It seems incredible that the great powers of Europe should have been indifferent for so long to this menace to the liberty and prosperity of their subjects. A British squadron under the command of Lord Exmouth visited Algiers, bombarded it, and released a large number of Christian slaves.

Before the Congress of Vienna is decisively condemned on account of its adhesion to "legitimacy," its opposition to revolutionary principles, and its disregard of the spirit of nationality, the point of view of its members should be taken into account. Europe had passed through a terrible experience. It had been bled white by more than twenty years of war, which had begun as a result of the French Revolution. The continent needed peace, and European statesmen thought that the surest way to secure it was to prevent revolution, and if, in spite of their efforts, revolution should appear, to crush it.

The Tsar Alexander I was a man of deep religious feelings, and he proposed that the chief powers should enter into an alliance with a view to conducting the affairs of Europe upon Christian principles—"the principles of that holy religion which the Divine Saviour hath imparted to mankind." Although the respect with which any proposal of the Tsar must necessarily be received was at first tempered with astonishment, the idea took root, and the Holy Alliance of Russia, Prussia, and Austria, with some states of minor importance, was formed in September, 1815. The Tsar's suggestion was, indeed, one which it would have been difficult to decline, for, apart from Turkey, all the powers of Europe were nominally Christian, and they could hardly be expected to declare that they were *not* willing to see European affairs settled upon Christian principles. But men were not all agreed upon the definition of the phrase. It is certain that the Tsar did not, at first, intend the Holy Alliance to be an instrument of repression. He was considering the grant of a constitution to Poland, and he was in favour of the establishment of constitutional government elsewhere. But Metternich saw clearly that the maintenance of absolute monarchy and the suppression of revolutions would be regarded by the monarchs of Europe as entirely in harmony with the doctrines of the Christian religion. The idea of Divine Right, which had been the basis of the Stuart monarchy in Great Britain in the seventeenth century, was, in fact if not in any formal claim, held by the despotic monarchs of central and eastern Europe in the nineteenth century. Metternich, therefore, although he was at first outwardly contemptuous of the proposal, supported it, and for some years the Holy Alliance was on the watch to put down all revolutionary, and therefore unchristian, tendencies in any part of Europe.

Though the Holy Alliance was a league for the suppression of future revolutionary movements it was also a league for the avoidance of wars, and, as pointed out above, the connection between these two ideas was, in the minds of the statesmen of the time, very close; it was the connection of cause and effect. The Holy Alliance presents some points of similarity to the United Nations of the present day. While, however, the United Nations includes many states, large and small, and its Security Council works for the avoidance of war by receiving notice of matters which may endanger peace and trying to settle them, the Holy Alliance included a few great powers which desired to impose their will upon all smaller states. It should be remembered to the credit of the Alliance that the peace of Europe was broken by only minor wars for forty years after the Congress of Vienna.

Lord Castlereagh was by no means in entire sympathy with the policy of repression which was being developed at the Congress. Yet Metternich and the Tsar were anxious to secure the adhesion of Great Britain to the Holy Alliance, and, as stated already, it was not easy to give a direct refusal to the invitation to join. Great Britain was a Christian country with an established Church, and she ought to be in sympathy with the professed ideals of the Alliance. A way out of the difficulty was found in the fact that George III was insane and that his duties were being carried on by a Prince Regent, who wrote to the Tsar that the Holy Alliance had his personal approval and sympathy, but that he had no authority to commit the country to it.

Great Britain agreed, however, to send representatives from time to time to Congresses of the powers whenever important matters should arise which should call for joint European action. In November, 1815, a Quadruple Alliance of Russia, Prussia, Austria, and Great Britain was formed. It might appear to be singularly illogical for Great Britain to join with the three eastern powers in the Quadruple Alliance and to refuse to enter the Holy Alliance with them. But the Holy Alliance was committed to a definite line of policy; by joining the Quadruple Alliance Great Britain merely promised to meet the other powers whenever necessary and to uphold the terms of the Second Treaty of Paris. She was not committed to the support of a line of policy already decided upon, and she might, and in fact did, oppose the repressive action which commended itself to the other powers. It is sometimes contended that this reactionary policy was the work of the Quadruple rather than of the Holy Alliance, but, in view of the attitude of Great Britain at the later Congresses, this assertion cannot be maintained. Repression was, indeed, decided upon, but it was supported by the three Holy Alliance powers and was opposed by Great Britain.

CHAPTER IX

THE BREAK-UP OF THE CONCERT OF EUROPE

THE primary aim of the Quadruple Alliance was the maintenance of the Second Treaty of Paris. It was felt that the Coalition which had succeeded in overcoming Napoleon should be kept in existence in order to check any possible revival of French aggression, and it was arranged that the representatives of the powers should meet from time to time to consider the best measures for the continuance of European peace.

The first of these Congresses was held at Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle) in 1818. It was decided that the army of occupation might safely be withdrawn from France, and this was done before the end of the year. On other matters differences of opinion appeared. The British proposal that France should be admitted to the Quadruple Alliance was accepted, though with some hesitation. The inclusion of France obviously made some difference to the original aim of the Alliance, which was, in effect, to prevent an increase in French power. The Tsar suggested that it should be continued in order to undertake a general supervision of European affairs and that periodic meetings should be held. Great Britain, however, was opposed to the tendency of the Holy Alliance powers to interfere in the affairs of other states, and, though Lord Castlereagh agreed to send British representatives to future Congresses summoned for specific purposes, he would not assent to periodic meetings. When the next Congress met, in 1820, at Troppau, a more marked divergence of opinion developed between Great Britain and the eastern powers.

In the year 1812 a constitution had been drawn up in Spain by the Cortes, or Assembly. The principles of this document were far too liberal for an ignorant and priest-ridden peasantry, and they were understood and appreciated only by an enlightened minority of the Spanish people. Upon the fall of Napoleon and the expulsion of Joseph from Spain the Bourbon king, Ferdinand VII, was restored, and, with the approval of the nobles, the clergy, and the mass of the people, he declared the constitution void. The Inquisition was re-established, the press was censored, and thousands of the supporters of the constitution were imprisoned.

In 1820 Riego, colonel of a regiment which formed part of a force assembled at Cadiz to undertake the reconquest of the revolted colonies of Spain, led a military rising and proclaimed the constitution of 1812. The effort met with little success in the south of Spain, but it was taken up in the north, and from Corunna to Barcelona the country declared for the constitution. The excitement spread to Madrid, and the King yielded. He restored the constitution, swore to maintain it, and ordered copies of it to be circulated throughout Spain.

The King of Naples was Ferdinand I, also of the Bourbon line. The French system of government, established under Murat, was retained after Ferdinand's restoration, but the administration was corrupt and the peasants were oppressed. There was much discontent in the army, where favour was shown and promotion granted to officers and men who had served Ferdinand in Sicily, while those who had fought for Murat were passed over.

A secret society, the Carbonari, had come into existence during the early years of the century, and though it originated among the charcoal-burners in the kingdom of Naples it now contained men of all classes, including even Government officials, army officers, and priests, and it extended throughout Italy. Though its aims were by no means clearly stated they were certainly revolutionary in character, and its members were prepared to revolt whenever the opportunity should occur. When news of the successful Spanish revolution of 1820 reached Naples a military rising occurred, and Ferdinand assented to the demand of the rebels that the Spanish constitution of 1812 should be applied to Naples.

Metternich, who for many years dominated the Holy Alliance and directed its policy, realised the possibility that revolutionary feeling in the south of Italy might spread to the Austrian possessions in the north, and he was far more anxious to put down the Neapolitan rising than the Spanish, which was too far away to affect the subject-peoples of Austria. A Congress was called to meet at Troppau to consider the condition of the kingdom of Naples. In accordance with the arrangement entered into at Aachen, Great Britain was represented at the Congress, but the British envoy was instructed to report to his Government upon the proceedings and was not entrusted with full powers. The three eastern powers approved of the issue of the Protocol of Troppau, which asserted the right of other states to intervene in order to suppress revolution in any country in which it had broken out. Great Britain protested vigorously, but took no further action.

At a further Congress at Laibach, in 1821, Ferdinand I was present. He had been allowed by his people to leave his kingdom only after he had again sworn to maintain the constitution. At Laibach, however, he disregarded his oath and asked the allies to restore his absolute power. The Congress, despite British protest, authorised Austria to suppress by force the constitutional movement in Naples. The Austrians experienced little difficulty in performing their task, and Ferdinand became once more an absolute monarch.

Before the Neapolitans were finally crushed a revolution was threatened in Piedmont. At the fall of Napoleon Victor Emmanuel I had been restored as an absolute monarch, but in 1821 a constitutional movement was attempted. Its supporters demanded that the Spanish constitution of 1812 should be applied in Piedmont, and they hoped that the King's dislike of the Austrians would influence him to grant it. Victor Emmanuel abdicated, however, in favour of his brother Charles Felix, and as the latter was absent from the country another prince of the royal line, Charles Albert, ruled for a time as regent. He granted the constitution, but Charles Felix, upon his return, annulled it. An Austrian army invaded Piedmont, and, in conjunction with loyal Piedmontese, defeated the revolutionists at Novara. The cause of constitutional freedom was crushed as decisively in the north of Italy as in the south.

The problem of Spain was not yet settled, and a Congress assembled at Verona in 1822 to consider it. Lord Castlereagh died shortly before the date appointed for the meeting, but his successor, Canning, adopted as his own the protest which Castlereagh had prepared against the suggested intervention in Spain of the despotic powers of Europe. In spite of the British attitude the Holy Alliance determined to restore the absolute power of Ferdinand VII, and France, in which reactionary influences had for some time been gaining ground, associated itself with this policy and was authorised to send an army into Spain. The French overran the country, suppressing the constitutional party everywhere; the constitution was annulled, and Ferdinand VII became once more absolute. Savage reprisals, which disgusted even the French troops whose success had made them possible, were inflicted upon the King's opponents.

This was the last important victory of the Holy Alliance, which now contemplated taking action to recover for Spain her revolted American colonies. Great Britain, however, was no longer content with barren protest, and Canning proposed joint action with the United States with a view to the ultimate recognition of the South American republics. The United States was unwilling to act in concert with Great Britain, but President Monroe sent a message to Congress asserting that the United States did not admit that there was any further field in America for colonial extension by European powers and that it would regard with disfavour any attempt of the absolute powers of Europe to extend their system to the American continent. This was followed by Canning's formal recognition of the independence of the revolted colonies. The Holy Alliance powers protested, but they accepted the situation.

In connection with Portugal, Great Britain dealt a second blow at the principles maintained by the Holy Alliance. The King of Portugal, John VI, had lived for some years in Brazil, and during his absence a revolutionary party, in 1820, demanded the grant of the Spanish constitution of 1812. John returned to Portugal in 1821, leaving his elder son, Pedro, who sympathised with the constitutional party, as regent in Brazil. The King granted a constitution to Portugal, but his second son, Miguel, who was supported by the French, led the reactionary party and revolted against his father. Canning sent a fleet to the Tagus to give moral support to the King. But Miguel's revolt collapsed, and he was exiled.

Brazil in 1822 proclaimed its independence, and this was recognised by Portugal in 1825, Pedro becoming the first Emperor of Brazil. When John VI died, in 1826, Pedro, not wishing to give up the crown of Brazil, granted a new constitution to Portugal and forthwith resigned the sovereignty of that country to his young daughter Maria. Miguel's supporters, with unofficial Spanish assistance, continued their efforts to put him on the throne, and the regency at Lisbon appealed to Canning to help. British troops were dispatched to Lisbon, and Canning threatened war against any power which attacked Portugal. Spain and France disavowed any intention of supporting the party of Miguel, and for the time being the constitution triumphed.

CHAPTER X

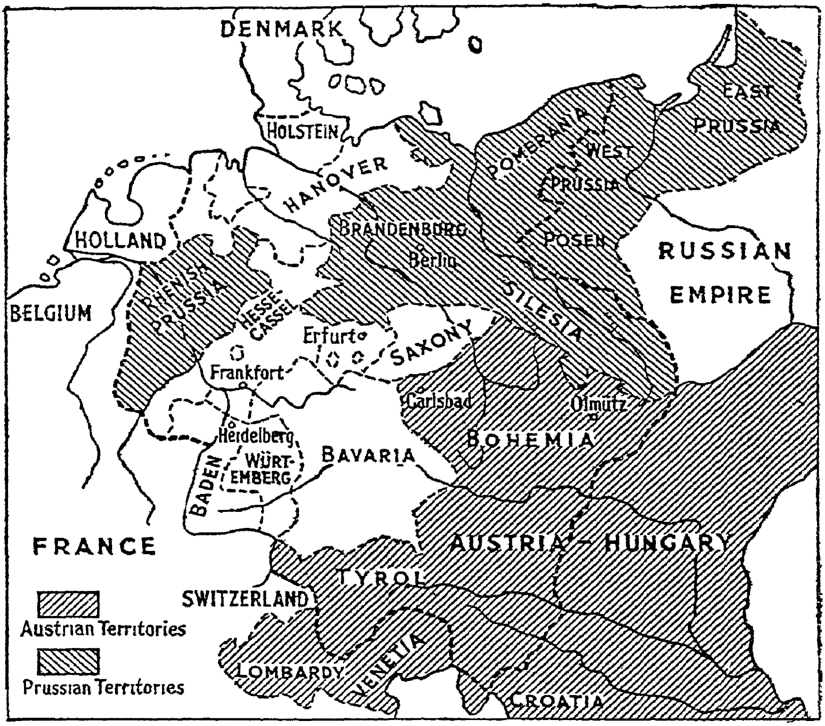
METTERNICH AND THE GERMAN CONFEDERATION

WHEN the Congress of Vienna was called upon to decide the future of Germany it resolved neither to continue the Confederation of the Rhine nor to revive the Holy Roman Empire, but to establish a German Confederation of thirty-eight states. Little was done by the Congress, however, to provide for its internal organisation. A Diet representative of the rulers of the German States was to meet at Frankfort under the presidency of the Austrian delegate, and to this body was left the task of developing the institutions of the Confederation. The Diet was in no sense a Parliament, since it represented sovereigns and not peoples. It was in some respects a conference of ambassadors, who voted in accordance with the wishes of their masters. The members did not possess equal voting rights in the Diet, more votes being assigned to the larger than to the smaller states. Only minor matters might be settled by a majority vote; more serious decisions could be made only by a two-thirds majority; matters affecting the constitution of the Confederation required a unanimous vote.

The thirty-eight states of the Confederation were sovereign in most respects, though not in all. They might wage war, though not against other members of the Confederation. They might make treaties with foreign powers, but not against other German states. If the Confederation should be at war all member-states were expected to support it. In all other respects they were independent.

The policy of the smaller states was to maintain their independence and to guard against any encroachment upon their rights by their powerful neighbours, Austria and Prussia. Proposals which came before the Diet were examined from this point of view, and any suggestion which tended to the strengthening of the Confederation, such as the establishment of central law courts or a federal army, met with sufficient opposition from the minor states to ensure its rejection.

Several of the members of the Diet had interests outside Germany. The greater part of the Austrian Empire was non-German, the King of Hanover (before 1837) was also King of Great Britain, Holstein was a possession of the King of Denmark, Luxemburg of the King of Holland. Even the kingdom of Prussia, though mainly within the Confederation, included provinces outside it. It was obvious that in the Diet the representatives of these potentates would be instructed to vote in accordance with the more important interests of their masters, so that questions affecting Germany might be settled by the German Diet in a manner to the advantage of foreign countries rather than of Germany.


DENMARK
HOLSTEIN
EAST PRUSSIA
POMERANIA
WEST PRUSSIA
HANOVER
HOLLAND
BRANDENBURG
Berlin
POSEN
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
BELGIUM
RHENISH PRUSSIA
HESSE CASSEL
SILESIA
Erfurt
SAXONY
Frankfort
Carlsbad
Olmütz
Heidelberg
BOHEMIA
BADEN
WÜRTEMBERG
BAVARIA
FRANCE
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
TYROL
SWITZERLAND
Austrian Territories
Prussian Territories
LOMBARDY
VENETIA
CROATIA

THE GERMAN CONFEDERATION, 1815–66

The establishment of this loose Confederation was profoundly disappointing to those German patriots who had hoped that some measure of national unity would be built up out of the disorder of the War of Liberation. A real feeling of German nationality had come into existence and had been a powerful factor in the defeat of Napoleon. Germans were conscious of their kinship and of their common language, and many of them hoped that in the settlement they would become citizens of one German state. But the Congress of Vienna decided otherwise. Moreover, the difficulties in the way of German unity were enormous. As in Italy, the rulers of the lesser states would certainly oppose any movement which would involve their own retirement, while Prussia was not yet strong enough to assume the leadership of the nation and was not willing to resign such a position to Austria. Austria had for centuries been recognised as the leading German state, and she retained that position in the Diet, but Austrian interests outside Germany were so extensive that it was difficult to regard her as fit for the headship of a German nation.

Despotic government prevailed in most of the states of the Confederation, though some form of constitution was granted in a few of them. In the Austrian Empire Metternich, the Chancellor, had to face the problem of ruling peoples of many races and languages and of more than one form of religion. He felt that it was possible to do so with success only by setting himself against any change. Things were to be left as they were, and no reform of any kind was to be attempted. By a strict censorship of the press, by excluding foreigners of Liberal opinions, by controlling the teaching of the universities, by suppressing revolutionary movements elsewhere in Europe, Metternich succeeded for many years in maintaining the *ancien régime*.

To a great extent he succeeded in imposing a similar system of repression upon the German Confederation. For a time, indeed, it seemed possible that a constitution might be granted in Prussia. It had been promised, and a commission was set up to consider the form it should take. But Frederick William III was lukewarm on the matter, and, after certain disturbances, described below, had broken out, Metternich found it easy to persuade him to drop the project.

In October, 1817, a festival was held at the Wartburg by a society of university students to commemorate the three-hundredth anniversary of Luther's quarrel with the Church of Rome. There was a good deal of patriotic oratory; aspirations for political freedom and unity were expressed, and some reactionary books were burnt. This was sufficiently alarming to Metternich, and it was followed in March, 1819, by the murder of Kotzebue, a journalist who was suspected of being a Russian spy, by a student of the University of Jena.

In August, 1819, Metternich called a meeting of representatives of certain of the German states at Carlsbad, where decrees were drawn up for the suppression of liberalism throughout the Confederation. They were submitted to the Diet at Frankfort, and, by somewhat irregular means, were carried, in spite of the opposition of some of the smaller states. By these regulations university teaching was placed under close and constant government inspection. Professors and students alike might be expelled if they showed any dangerous tendencies. Student associations were not to be formed except with official permission. The press was to be under strict control, and a special commission was set up to seek out any traces of conspiracy which might be discoverable from time to time.

The Carlsbad decrees were rigidly enforced. Police spies were actively engaged in trying to discover traces, however slight, of Liberal opinions. Men were imprisoned or exiled on mere suspicion. By such means Metternich succeeded in imposing on the German Confederation the system which he had already brought to perfection in the Austrian Empire. Until his fall from power in 1848 his was the controlling mind of the Confederation.

The long period of Metternich's ascendancy over the German Confederation was thus almost without political history. Yet the July Revolution in France and the movements which followed from it in Italy, Belgium, and elsewhere were not altogether without effect in Germany. Constitutions were granted in a few states, of which Hanover and Saxony were the most important; in both of these states the press was granted greater freedom, and trial by jury was established, but the constitutions were not so far-reaching as to deprive the ruler of the control of affairs in his state. A certain amount of agitation on behalf of freedom and unity led to meetings and speeches, in spite of the rigours of the repressive system. It provided Metternich with a pretext for proposing further restrictions to the Diet, which was empowered to interfere in support of any ruler who was in difficulties with his subjects. Political societies and meetings were forbidden, press restrictions were renewed, and strict control of the universities was revived.

Yet in other respects the government of the Confederation was not oppressive. Scientific research was encouraged, and industry and trade made progress. Each state, however, had its own tariff system, and in some of the larger states there were internal customs barriers—duties were payable when goods passed from one province to another, or into a city from the surrounding country. Tariff difficulties were especially annoying in Prussia, whose Rhenish provinces were entirely detached from the main part of the state. In 1818 Prussia abolished her internal customs and proposed to her neighbours that a customs union, or Zollverein, should be formed. Duties should be levied on goods entering the union from outside, but tariff barriers between the states of the union should be discontinued. The revenue obtained should be divided among the states of the union in proportion to population.

The smaller states of North Germany were, as usual, suspicious of any suggestion made by their powerful neighbours, but at length they were convinced of the advantages of the proposal, and most of them joined the Zollverein, though Hanover held aloof. A few years later a rival customs union was formed in South Germany under Bavarian leadership, and a third was established in Central Germany on the proposal of Saxony. In course of time these groups amalgamated, and by 1842 the Zollverein, under Prussian leadership, included most of the states in the Confederation. Austria, however, was not a member of this economic league, and it was significant that the members of the German Confederation had been able, for a definite object, to combine independently of the Diet and of Austria and that this combination had taken place under Prussian leadership.

Frederick William III, King of Prussia, died in 1840, after ruling for forty-three years. In the early part of his reign Prussia had been humiliated by Napoleon, had been reduced in extent, had been threatened with extinction. A regenerated Prussia had taken part in the War of Liberation and in the final overthrow of Napoleon, her territories had been restored, additions had been made to them, and she had resumed her place as one of the two leading German states. Liberal hopes had run high in Prussia after 1815. Frederick William had promised a constitution to his people, but nothing came of it. The old King fell more and more completely under the influence of Metternich in the latter years of his reign. Yet he never lost his popularity among the Prussians—a fact which accounted for the absence of Liberal agitation while he lived.

But much was expected from his son, Frederick William IV. His reign began well. He released a number of political prisoners, and the press censorship was relaxed. Provincial assemblies with limited powers already existed, and a demand arose for the establishment of a central Parliament representative of the whole of the Prussian dominions. This, however, the King was not inclined to grant, and though the agitation continued for several years Frederick William would go no farther than the summoning, in 1847, of the provincial assemblies to meet as one body. This United Diet was to have exceedingly limited powers. The King might consult it on questions of taxation and legislation, but he was not bound to do so, and it was to have no control over either. The disappointment of those who had been clamouring for a constitution was intense, and in its first session the United Diet petitioned the King to establish a real Parliament. He refused, and shortly afterwards dissolved the Diet.

Such was the state of affairs at the beginning of 1848.

CHAPTER XI

THE RESTORED BOURBON MONARCHY IN FRANCE

At the fall of Napoleon the Bourbon line of kings was restored in France in the person of Louis XVIII, brother of Louis XVI. But the *ancien régime* was not restored. The privileges of nobles and clergy, abolished at the Revolution, were not revived. It is one of the merits of Louis XVIII that he realised the impossibility of putting back the clock, one of the faults of Charles X that he made the attempt.

Louis XVIII frankly accepted the position of a constitutional monarch, and he issued the charter in which was embodied the constitution of France until 1848. The power of governing was to be in the hands of the King, and, though in practice it might be exercised by his ministers, it was not contemplated that the King should become a nonentity. The royal power included the command of the army and navy, the right to declare war and conclude treaties, the making of appointments to the public service and to the Chamber of Peers, and the proposing of legislation. A Legislature of two Houses was established. The Chamber of Peers consisted of hereditary nobles together with some members appointed by the King for life; the Chamber of Deputies contained members elected for a period of five years, of whom a substantial property qualification was required. Only persons who were forty years of age and who paid at least one thousand francs in direct taxes were qualified for election, and only men of thirty who paid at least three hundred francs were eligible to vote. Laws could be proposed only by the Crown, and they were to be accepted or rejected by the Chambers. No tax might be levied without the assent of the Legislature.

On paper the Charter preserved many of the principles of the Revolution, though it failed to maintain them in fact. Frenchmen were declared to be equal before the law and to be equally eligible for all public positions. Yet this vaunted "equality" of the people did not exist; the right of voting and the right of being elected to the Chamber of Deputies were restricted to men of certain degrees of wealth, so that privilege remained—a privilege no longer of birth but of wealth. In this respect the Charter was based less on the principles of the Revolution than of those of the constitution of Great Britain, where property qualifications were required for membership of the House of Commons and for the exercise of the franchise.

Every Frenchman, when accused, was to be entitled to a fair trial before a jury. Freedom of the press was promised, though in a clause whose wording was ambiguous. Those who were in possession of confiscated property were assured that it would not be taken from them. Toleration was guaranteed for all forms of religion, though Roman Catholicism remained the official religion of the state. The nobility created by Napoleon was recognised equally with that of the *ancien régime*, but neither was endowed with pre-revolutionary privileges.

The importance of the Charter lay in two directions. In the first place it accepted, at least in form, much of the work of the Revolution and the Napoleonic *régime*—religious toleration, personal equality, eligibility for office, the *Code Napoléon*, the Concordat with the Pope, a well-organised government system. In the second place, it was not entirely inconsistent with the principle of the Divine Right of Kings, on which the old Bourbon monarchy had been based and which was maintained by the restored kings. The Charter was not imposed by a dominant people on kings who had to be content with such remnant of power as the nation chose to allow them. It was granted by the monarchy, as a gracious concession to the nation, out of the abundance of the power which it possessed.

Louis XVIII was a man of common sense, who realised that it was necessary for him to accept the position of a constitutional monarch. He had endured many years of exile, and he did not wish to lose his throne again. But his return was associated with that of hundreds of the nobles of the *ancien régime*—*émigrés* who had disregarded the invitation of Napoleon to return and resume their share in the national life, men to whom the Revolution and all its results were utterly abhorrent, men who had learned nothing and forgotten nothing. They formed the Ultra-Royalist party under the restored monarchy. They were more royalist than the King; yet they were not conspicious for their loyalty to him. They aimed at the recovery of all the ancient noble privileges, and at the same time they desired to secure for their class a degree of political power which the nobles of the eighteenth century had not possessed. They recognised the Charter only as a starting point. By strained interpretation of its provisions, and by occasional violations, they hoped to advance their cause to the point at which they could abolish the Charter and reduce the common people to a state of permanent subjection. Essential features of the policy of the Ultras included the revival of the power of the Church and the suppression of the freedom of the press. Their recognised leader was the Count of Artois, the King's brother, to whose accession to the throne they looked forward hopefully.

The most important party opposed to the Ultras was that of the Moderates, who were loyal to the Crown and who based their policy on the maintenance of the Charter. The Moderates consisted, however, of several distinct groups, with varying aims, and their unwillingness to act together in times of crisis was one cause of the progress which was made by their opponents. There was also a party, or a number of parties, of the Left—Republicans, Bonapartists, and other discontented groups. Under the electoral law established by the Charter these were unable to secure substantial representation in the Chamber of Deputies.

A general election was held in 1815, and it resulted in the Ultras commanding a majority in the Chamber of Deputies, although the Moderates prevailed in the Chamber of Peers. The Duke of Richelieu, a Moderate, was the leading minister of France for some years, and he and the King tried to restrain the Ultras in the Lower Chamber. Repressive and revengeful measures, such as the punishment of those who had supported Napoleon in the Hundred Days, were demanded, but, though Marshal Ney was shot, an Amnesty Bill was carried by Richelieu. A new electoral law was put forward by the Government, but the Ultras in the Lower Chamber amended it in such a way as to strengthen their position, and it was rejected only by the Chamber of Peers. The Ultras proposed a partial repudiation of the Napoleonic debt, and in order to curb their excesses the King took the decisive step of dissolving the Chamber.

The new Chamber contained a Moderate majority, and for the next few years the country was ruled on Moderate lines.

Richelieu continued in office until 1818, and during this period France was able to pay off the indemnity imposed by the Second Treaty of Paris. The Government of France appeared to be so stable that the army of occupation was withdrawn by the allies in 1818. An electoral law passed in 1817 was regarded as advantageous to the Moderates. The growing strength of the party of the Left, however, brought about the retirement of Richelieu in 1818, and his colleague Decazes was placed at the head of the Government. In 1819 a new press law was passed, abolishing the censorship and permitting cases in which newspapers were involved to be tried before juries. But this law pleased neither of the extreme parties. It was not advanced enough for the Left, and it angered the Ultras. The Left gained strength at the elections of 1819, and in alarm many moderate men veered round to the Ultras.

The Ultras gained further ground through the murder of the Duke of Berry, son of the Count of Artois, in 1820. They contended that such events were the logical outcome of a Moderate and Liberal policy, and Decazes was forced to resign.

Richelieu returned to office for a short time, but he was unable to stem the tide of reaction which had set in. The electoral law was revised, to the marked advantage of the Ultras, and the press censorship was restored. By the end of 1821 Richelieu gave place to Villèle, an able and cautious statesman but a pronounced reactionary, who held office till the end of 1827.

Villèle's aim was to promote reactionary measures by keeping alive the fear of revolution, and to distract popular attention from encroachments of national freedom by a vigorous foreign policy. The press censorship was strengthened, a new and heavy tariff was drawn up, and public education was placed under the control of the University, which was itself directed by a bishop. Meanwhile, a French expedition, with the sanction of the Holy Alliance, entered Spain and restored the absolute power of Ferdinand VII. France, ever attracted by the prospect of military glory, applauded this adventure enthusiastically, although it was on behalf of reaction and against freedom. But Villèle did not wish to go too far, and he declined to undertake campaigns to recover the Rhine frontier, that vain dream of generations of Frenchmen.

Louis XVIII was succeeded in 1824 by his brother, the Count of Artois, who took the title of Charles X. Although the new King announced his intention of maintaining the Charter, reaction now gained ground at an accelerated pace. It was decided to recompense the *émigrés* for the loss of their lands, and since it was hardly possible to dispossess existing landowners it was decided to reduce the rate of interest on the National Debt and with the money thus saved to award pensions as compensation to the *émigrés*. The power of the Church was strengthened, and Jesuits were permitted to return to France. But Villèle was unwilling to move too fast; by his caution he lost the confidence of the extreme members of the Ultra party, and at the end of 1827 these combined with the Left to bring about his fall.

His successor, Martignac, was faced by a hostile majority in a new Chamber of Deputies. He attempted certain measures of conciliation, modifying the press laws and limiting the educational activities of the Jesuits. He thus offended the extremists of the Right without conciliating those of the Left, and the two groups renewed their alliance and drove him from office.

In 1829 Polignac, a former *émigré*, became the leader of the ministry. A vigorous policy of reaction was followed, which aroused such a degree of opposition that the Chamber of Deputies petitioned the King to dismiss Polignac. Charles dissolved the Chamber, but its successor contained a more pronounced majority for the Opposition.

A crisis had arisen. Had Charles dismissed Polignac he might have preserved his crown. He preferred to act under an article of the Charter which empowered him to issue ordinances for the safety of the state. On 25th July, 1830, he published four ordinances. The first prohibited the issue of newspapers without the assent of the Government, the second set aside the recent elections, by the third the electoral law was altered, and in the fourth the date of new elections was fixed.

The journalists of Paris and many of the newly-elected deputies drew up protests. Workmen, especially printers, joined in the agitation, and within a day or two Paris was in revolt. Barricades were erected in the streets, and fierce fighting occurred, in which hundreds of lives were lost. At length the troops were withdrawn, and a Provisional Government, with which Lafayette was associated, was set up. Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, was appointed Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. Charles X now withdrew the ordinances, but he was too late. In a letter to the Duke of Orleans he abdicated in favour of his grandson, the Count of Chambord (who was also known as the Duke of Bordeaux), son of the murdered Duke of Berry, but Orleans announced the abdication without mentioning the condition. Had this been made known it is at least possible that the Count of Chambord would have been accepted as King. Charles withdrew to England and was permitted to reside at Holyrood. He passed the remainder of his life there and in Austria.

Some of the revolutionaries wished for a republic, but others felt that to abolish monarchy would be to establish too close a parallel to the Revolution of 1789–95, and that it would invite the hostility of the powers of Europe. The Duke of Orleans, member of a younger branch of the royal family (he was a descendant of Louis XIII), was invited to become King. He had always seemed to be well disposed towards Liberal opinions, and he became King "by the grace of God and the will of the people."

The July Revolution involved the overthrow of the principle of Divine Right in France. The changes introduced into the constitution were not sweeping; yet the monarchy depended henceforth on the support of the nation, and if this should be withdrawn it would collapse. The hopes of the Ultras were extinguished, and the influence of the clerical party was lessened; there was no further possibility of building up an aristocratic *régime*. And it must not be overlooked that the July Revolution marks the definite reversal of one feature of the Vienna settlement.

CHAPTER XII

BELGIAN INDEPENDENCE

DURING the Middle Ages the Netherlands had consisted of seventeen provinces which became united under the rule of the Dukes of Burgundy and, later, of the Kings of Spain. In 1572 the provinces revolted against Spanish oppression. The ten southern provinces returned to their allegiance in 1579, but the seven northern states continued the struggle for another thirty years and won their independence. The United Provinces (modern Holland) became an aristocratic republic under the hereditary presidency of the Princes of Orange, who though they held no higher title than that of Stadtholder, were monarchs in all but name. The southern Netherlands (modern Belgium) remained Spanish until they were conquered by Marlborough in the Spanish Succession War, and at the Peace of Utrecht, 1713, they were assigned to Austria. Early in the French Revolutionary War they were conquered by the French, and they remained part of France for twenty years. Holland also was conquered by the French, and for many years the Stadtholder was an exile in Great Britain, while his country became the Batavian republic and, later, the kingdom of Holland, under the rule of Louis Bonaparte, brother of Napoleon I.

Before the fall of Napoleon in 1814 the Stadtholder returned to Holland. He was warmly welcomed by the Dutch, and it was felt, by prince and people alike, that the opportunity should be taken to establish a new constitution for the country. Holland became a hereditary monarchy, ruled by the House of Orange. The States-General, an assembly which represented the provinces, was to have certain rights, but the King, William I, retained a large measure of political power.

The Congress of Vienna wished to establish a strong state to the north-east of France, and decided to unite the former Austrian Netherlands (by this time generally known as Belgium) to the newly organised kingdom of Holland. The union was not popular with the Belgians, though it is possible that a conciliatory policy on the part of the Dutch Government might have broken down prejudices and ensured the continuance of a connection which would have been beneficial to both countries. Dutch and Belgians differed in many ways. They spoke different languages and professed different religions, the Dutch being Protestant and the Belgians Catholic. The Dutch had been a great commercial and colonising race; Belgium was, and had for centuries been, a mining and manufacturing region. The Belgians outnumbered the Dutch, who, with their long record of independence, were inclined to despise their neighbours as a politically inferior race.

A commission was appointed by William I to draw up a constitution for the united kingdom. In spite of Belgian protests the States-General was to be composed of fifty-five members for each part of the kingdom, the Belgian superiority in population being disregarded. A Belgian Assembly rejected the constitution when it was complete, but the King ordered its enforcement.

During the next fifteen years friction was constant. The Belgians resented their exclusion from official posts, to most of which only Dutch were appointed. The States-General invariably met at The Hague, in Dutch territory, and never in Belgium, as required by the constitution. In the States-General the Government was always able to obtain a majority for its proposals, since it received the support of the whole of the Dutch members and of a few Belgians who held official posts. The determination of the Government to make Dutch the official language of the whole of the new kingdom caused further resentment. The financial policy of the Dutch Government was felt to be unjust to the Belgians. The debt burden of the two countries was unequal. Holland had a debt much heavier than that of Belgium—yet taxation to meet debt charges was levied uniformly over the united kingdom, and the imposition in 1821 of new taxes on flour and meat added to the growing irritation.

It was the religious question, however, which separated the two races most completely. At the time of the union the Catholic bishops protested against the grant of religious toleration to Protestants in the united kingdom. The determination of the Church to retain control of education in Belgium was opposed by the resolution of the Government to transfer it to secular hands. The political opposition in Belgium to the Dutch Government was thus strengthened by the support of the Catholic Church.

Yet, in spite of the existence of political and religious grievances, the union was in another way markedly beneficial to the Belgians. The great manufacturing industries of Belgium flourished, and the foreign trade of the country increased in volume, since Dutch colonies were open to the reception of Belgian products.

An industrial exhibition was held in Brussels in the summer of 1830, and large numbers of visitors were attracted to the city. When news of the July Revolution in Paris reached Brussels great excitement prevailed. A revolutionary demonstration, which began in an opera house, spread to the streets and soon developed into a riot. The royal forces in the city were insufficient to restore order, and the King's eldest son, the Prince of Orange, who was popular in Belgium, attempted without success to bring about a reconciliation of the rebels with the Government. The King resolved to suppress the outbreak by force and sent an army of 10,000 men to Brussels. It was driven out and retired to Antwerp. This employment of an inadequate force was worse than useless. It not only failed in its task of restoring order but it aroused the national spirit of the Belgians. A National Congress met at Brussels which declared the country to be independent of Holland and decided to elect a new king.

Since 1815 several revolutionary movements in Italy and Spain had been suppressed by the Holy Alliance, and it was to be feared that the three eastern powers would intervene in Belgian affairs in order to restore the authority of the King of Holland. That they did not do so was due to the outbreak of a serious rebellion in Poland in November, 1830. The Tsar was fully occupied in its suppression, while Prussia and Austria, with fighting going on so near their own borders, were disinclined to interfere in the affairs of the Netherlands. Austria, moreover, had reason to fear an outbreak in North Italy. The powers of the Holy Alliance were, therefore, unable to move. Meanwhile, Palmerston in Great Britain and Louis Philippe in France were well disposed towards the new kingdom. At a conference of the powers held in London towards the end of 1830 it was decided to recognise the separation of Belgium from Holland and to guarantee its independence and neutrality.

Early in 1831 the Belgian National Congress offered the new crown to the Duke of Nemours, son of Louis Philippe. The French King dallied with the proposal, but its acceptance would bear the appearance of a revival of former French schemes of territorial extension to the north-east. Palmerston hinted that Great Britain would resist by force any such extension of French influence, and the offer was declined. On the advice of Palmerston, the Belgians now chose Leopold of Saxe-Coburg as their King, and in the course of the year this prince accepted the crown and was received in Brussels.

William I had not yet abandoned hope of recovering the revolted provinces. A Dutch army under the Prince of Orange invaded Belgium in July, 1831, and Louis Philippe sent an army to aid the Belgians and to preserve their country from reconquest. But both armies withdrew, although the Dutch retained Antwerp for some time. At length Great Britain and France determined to settle the Belgian question. Antwerp was invested by sea and land by a British fleet and a French army, and in December, 1832, it surrendered. In 1839, by the Treaty of London, the independence and neutrality of the kingdom of Belgium were solemnly recognised and guaranteed by all the powers, including Holland. It may be observed that it was a breach of this treaty by Germany which was the immediate cause of the entry of Great Britain into the European War of 1914.

CHAPTER XIII

FRANCE UNDER LOUIS PHILIPPE

Louis Philippe, the new King of the French, had had an adventurous career before his elevation to the throne. As a young man he fought with the forces of the republic at Valmy and at Jemappes. He afterwards fled from France and visited various parts of the world, including northern Europe, Sicily, and the United States, and at different times he lived in Switzerland and England. He returned to France at the Bourbon restoration, recovered the family estates, and entered the Chamber of Peers. For some years he affected Liberal opinions and associated with the bourgeois and even with the workmen of Paris. He thus gained the support of people who did not suspect that his profession of democratic and even republican views was merely a cloak for his ambition.

His accession to the throne was acquiesced in, rather than welcomed by, the mass of the people. Little change was made in the constitution. The royal power in framing ordinances was restricted, the Chambers were empowered to propose legislation, and the press censorship was abolished. In 1831 a new electoral law was passed, but the franchise was only slightly extended and was still open only to the wealthy. The Orleanist monarchy rested mainly on the support of the bourgeois, the well-to-do trading and manufacturing classes, and from the first it had to face the opposition of the working classes, who had helped to bring about the July Revolution and were disappointed with its results.

Other supporters of the Orleans monarchy were not united in opinions and policy. The Progressive party hoped that a programme of democratic and social reform would be carried out at home and that, abroad, France would pose as the champion of oppressed peoples, such as the Belgians and the Poles, who were struggling for liberty. The Conservative party held that the July Revolution had merely maintained the constitution against a king who plotted its overthrow, and it was opposed to any changes in the direction of democracy.

In opposition to the monarchy were the Legitimists, who schemed for the enthronement of the young Count of Chambord, the Bonapartists, who revived the memory of the glories of the Napoleonic era, and the Republicans.

Louis Philippe as King was by no means so democratic as he had been as Duke of Orleans, and early in his reign the Conservatives under Casimir-Périer came into power. The minister was a man of great firmness and capacity. Disturbances, caused by political and social unrest, which occurred in the provinces, were vigorously suppressed. The refusal of Casimir-Périer to intervene in the Polish revolt of 1830 was unpopular, but his pacific policy was sound, and his death in 1832 was a misfortune for the country.

The history of the next few years is a record of disturbances—a Legitimist attempt in La Vendée, Republican outbreaks in Paris and at Lyons, strikes of the working classes, attempts on the life of the King. Such events afforded full excuse to the Government for embarking upon a policy of repression. All associations had to obtain the sanction of the Government for their continuance, journalists were prosecuted for the publication of articles which criticised the Government, new courts were set up, and a censorship of plays was established. Many new offences were created, and freedom seemed to be at an end. The Government was unpopular, but for the time being it had little to fear from its opponents.

During the reign of Louis Philippe the "Napoleonic legend" came into existence. Napoleon's achievements were glorified, and the evils of his reign were forgotten. He was regarded as a hero, a regenerator of society; he was looked upon as the personification of national glory. The Orleanist monarchy was not glorious; the growth of the legend could not but emphasise the contrast between the present and the past. Yet Louis Philippe, with a strange blindness to the effect of his action, approved of and patronised the Napoleonic legend. He completed the Arc de Triomphe, which commemorated the Emperor's career, he permitted streets to be named after Napoleon's battles, and he allowed Napoleon's body to be transferred from St. Helena to Paris, where it was reburied with imposing ceremonial. The late Emperor's nephew, Louis Napoleon, made two attempts during the reign to recover his uncle's throne; on the second occasion he was imprisoned, but in 1846 he escaped.

Among the ministers of Louis Philippe during the first half of his reign were Soult, the ex-marshal of Napoleon, Thiers, a Progressive, and Guizot, a historian and philosopher, who was the leader of the Conservative party. The King found it no easy matter to follow a sound and consistent foreign policy throughout his reign. The surest way to strengthen a weak Government in France was to pursue a vigorous policy abroad; the French people have always been attracted by *la gloire*. But activity in foreign affairs might arouse the suspicions of the powers, and France might draw upon herself their hostility. Thiers favoured a strong policy abroad, and on his advice Louis Philippe supported Mehemet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, in his war against the Sultan of Turkey. The revival of French influence in Egypt, which had been destroyed by Nelson's victory at the Battle of the Nile in 1798, seemed to be approaching. But Palmerston outwitted Thiers and formed a Quadruple Alliance of Russia, Prussia, Austria, and Great Britain to support the Sultan, which would have left France isolated in the event of a European war. Thiers was willing to risk war, but Louis Philippe drew back, though at the cost of losing prestige at home and abroad. Thiers was replaced, as the King's chief minister, by Guizot, who held office for the remainder of the reign.

Guizot wished to maintain peace and to cultivate friendly relations with Great Britain; yet these relations were strained by Louis Philippe in his dealings with Spain. In that country the queen, Isabella, and her sister, Luisa, were both unmarried. Louis Philippe wished to extend French influence in Spain through the marriage between Luisa and his son, the Duke of Montpensier. Such a marriage, involving as it did the possibility at some future time of the union of the French and Spanish crowns (which had been forbidden by the Peace of Utrecht), was bound to excite apprehension in Great Britain. Lord Aberdeen, the Foreign Secretary in Peel's second ministry, announced that Great Britain would offer no opposition to the wedding if it were postponed until after the marriage of Isabella and the birth of an heir to the Spanish throne. In spite of this, the two sisters were married on the same day. Palmerston, who by this time had returned to the Foreign Office, was indignant, and remained hostile to the French king until his fall. Louis Philippe gained no prestige in France or elsewhere to set against the antagonism he had aroused. He had sacrificed a good understanding with Great Britain for purely selfish reasons; he had placed the interests of his family before those of the state.

The Government continued its policy of repression at home. No opposition was experienced from the Chamber of Deputies, for the whole parliamentary system was corrupt. Deputies and electors alike were bribed, directly or indirectly, to support the Government. The franchise was limited to the well-to-do, and many of the deputies and electors held official posts.

The needs and the opinions of the working classes were disregarded. France was passing through the Industrial Revolution, and the factory system, with its attendant evils of long hours, starvation wages, and child labour, was being developed. The doctrines of Socialism, advocated by such men as Proudhon, Leroux, and Louis Blanc, spread far and wide among the workers, who were discontented with their low wages and hard conditions of work, with the Government, and with their exclusion from any share of political power.

The King made no effort to meet the growing demand for reform. Agitation was denounced as disloyal, petitions were thrust aside. "Reform banquets" were instituted by those opposed to the Government, and one of these functions, which was to be attended by a number of deputies, was forbidden, in February, 1848. Rioting broke out in Paris, and barricades were erected. Troops sent against the people refused to fire. Louis Philippe was now alarmed; he prepared to grant reforms, and he permitted Guizot to resign. But fighting broke out, and the Republicans piled some bodies on a cart which was paraded through the streets in order to rouse the mob. The people called for a republic, and Louis Philippe, after vainly endeavouring to abdicate in favour of his grandson, passed into exile.

The Orleanist monarchy fell because it failed to win the approval of the nation. It relied upon the support of a class, the bourgeois—a class which was numerically small, which was without any moral or historical right to control the government of the state, which was despised by the aristocracy and detested by the masses, and which, moreover, was more intent upon the acquisition of wealth than upon political power. Louis Philippe might have strengthened his position by bidding for popular support through a programme of social and political reform. He might have appealed to French patriotism by a more vigorous policy abroad. But he was misguided enough to allow the Bonapartists to profit by the French passion for glory, while the Republicans took up the cause of reform. He failed to meet the wishes of his people, he made no attempt to win more widespread support for his throne, and his power collapsed.

CHAPTER XIV

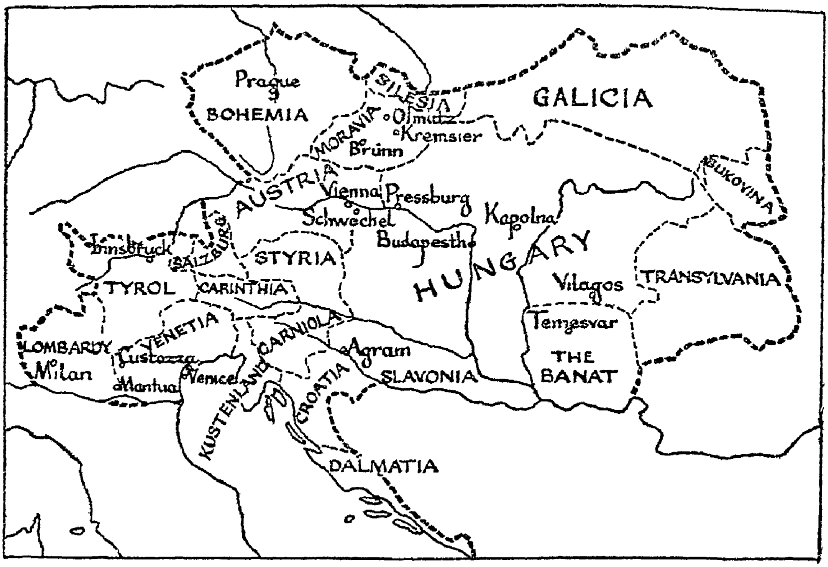
REVOLUTION AND REACTION IN THE AUSTRIAN EMPIRE

THE Metternich system prevailed in central Europe until 1848; in that year a series of revolutionary outbreaks occurred. Inspired by the French Revolution of February, 1848, risings happened in many European countries, and in none were they more severe than in the Austrian Empire, the centre of the policy of repression.

Francis I, under whom the Austrian Empire, as distinct from the Holy Roman Empire, came into existence, died in 1835 and was succeeded by Ferdinand I, a man of little capacity or inclination to rule. The work of government continued to be carried on by a group of ministers, of whom Metternich was the chief. They did not work well together, however, and their departments were so little inclined to co-operate with one another that neglect crept into the administration, and even the repressive measures which had been in force for so many years ceased to be applied as rigidly as before. It must not be thought that the censorship of the press and the supervision of university teaching were relaxed on account of any sympathy with Liberal ideas; such slight degree of freedom as prevailed after 1840 was due to the laziness and inactivity of the officials and to their unwillingness to work together for the thorough maintenance of the Metternich system. Nor was there any general relaxation; it merely happened that newspapers occasionally succeeded in publishing articles which called for reforms and for constitutional progress, that Liberal speeches were occasionally made, that lectures with a Liberal tendency were delivered now and then to university students.

Between 1840 and 1848 a distinct development of the spirit of unrest was to be observed in various parts of the Austrian Empire. If the dominions of the Emperor had been inhabited by peoples of one race and language this movement might have taken the form of a demand for constitutional monarchy on the English pattern, with a Parliament representative of every part of the state and with ministers responsible to it. Or it might have gone farther and aimed at the establishment of an

Austrian republic. But the Austrian Empire contained many peoples, and the desire of most of them was for independence, partial or complete, from the Austrian yoke. Had the revolutionary movements of 1848 and 1849 been completely successful the ramshackle Empire would have split up into a number of separate states, either fully independent or owing no more than a nominal allegiance to Vienna, in much the same way as the Turkish Empire fell to pieces during the nineteenth century and as the Austrian Empire itself did in 1918. To no small extent the success of the Austrian Government in averting such a catastrophe in 1848–9 was due to its ability to make the most of dissensions among the different groups of its rebellious subjects—to play off one group against another.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Kapolna
BUKOVINA
Innsbruck
SALZBURG
STYRIA
HUNGARY
Vilagos
TRANSYLVANIA
TYROL
CARINTHIA
Temesvar
VENETIA
CARNIOLA
LOMBARDY
Custozza
Agram
THE BANAT
Milan
Mantua
Venice
SLAVONIA
KUSTENLAND
CROATIA
DALMATIA

THE AUSTRIAN EMPIRE IN 1848–9

In Lombardy and Venetia, the Austrian provinces in Italy, the rebels aimed at complete separation from the Austrian Empire, and this outbreak was hailed by Italian patriots with delight as being directed against one of the chief obstacles to Italian unity. The revolt, and the firm stand made against it by Radetzky, together with its collapse, are described elsewhere. It contributed, however, in a material degree to the temporary successes of the Magyars in Hungary, since a large part of the Austrian army was necessarily detained in Italy.

Apart from Italy, the most serious disturbances occurred in Hungary, Bohemia, and Vienna. Hungary, though it had long possessed the form of a constitution, was one of the most backward countries in Europe. Its social life was medieval rather than modern. A division of the populace into privileged nobles and peasants subject to serfdom, such as had prevailed in many countries before the French Revolution but had disappeared before the advance of the French armies, still existed in Hungary. Peasants paid most of the taxation, but they were not represented in the Diet. This Assembly consisted of two Chambers—an Upper House of great nobles, and a Chamber of Deputies, who were elected by local assemblies which themselves were composed of representatives of the lesser nobility. Controlled as it was by the Hungarian nobility, the Diet, which met only every third year, was not a body in which social reforms might be demanded with any hope of success. But it was willing to ask for changes of another character and to claim for Hungary concessions which would place it in a position of equality with Austria. For some years the point about which discussion was carried on was that of language. The Diet wished the Magyar language, instead of Latin, to be the official language of Hungary, and its demand was conceded in 1844. This would have been entirely reasonable if Hungary had been inhabited only by Magyars, but the country included Croats and Serbs and people of other races, and the Diet was not prepared to extend to these minorities the same freedom of language as it had just won for itself.

Although the Hungarian Diet as a whole was opposed to reform, a small party which advocated the most extensive changes came into existence under the leadership of Louis Kossuth. By profession a lawyer, Kossuth turned to journalism and edited a newspaper by means of which he spread his views. He demanded the abolition of serfdom and of noble privileges, so that all the people should be of equal status, with equal rights and equal liability to taxation; he claimed full freedom for the press and full right of public meeting, and he contended that the Diet should be really representative of the whole nation, with full control over taxation and legislation, and that Hungary should be no longer subject to but on an equal footing with Austria. Francis Deák, another of the

Liberal leaders, was more moderate in his demands and hoped for reform on less extreme lines. But in times of revolution moderate men are left behind, and extremists are apt to seize the leadership of the movement.

The news of the fall of Louis Philippe and the establishment of the second French republic in February, 1848, inspired Kossuth, on 3rd March, to make in the Hungarian Diet a speech at once violent and eloquent, denouncing the Vienna Government, and the Diet resolved to demand of the Emperor a constitution for Hungary. Kossuth's speech had an unexpected result in Vienna itself. Revolt, headed by workmen and university students, broke out in the city, and the rioters demanded the dismissal of Metternich. The Government, taken by surprise, was helpless. Metternich fled in disguise to England, his house was burned down, and his whole system of repression collapsed at once. The Emperor not only promised a constitution in Austria, but sanctioned the abolition of the press censorship and the establishment of a National Guard.

The Hungarian petition being granted, the Diet at Pressburg at once set to work and passed a series of constitutional laws, known as the March Laws. It was not to be expected that the reactionary nobles in the Diet would change their views completely and at once, but public meetings in various parts of Hungary testified to the strength of popular feeling, and the deputies, either acting from fear or carried away by the general enthusiasm, agreed to the proposals of Kossuth and his friends. Serfdom was abolished. The Diet was henceforth to be a really representative Parliament meeting at Budapesth. The press was to be free. And, above all, Hungary was to be independent of, and on an equality with, Austria. It was to have its own ministry responsible to the Diet, and the Emperor, as King of Hungary, was to be the sole remaining link with Austria. By the end of the month the helpless Ferdinand had assented to the March Laws, and steps were taken to make them effective. A national army was raised, a national flag was adopted, and Hungarian ambassadors were appointed to foreign countries.

Meanwhile unrest had developed in Bohemia. In this province the majority of the people were Czechs, but the dominant minority were German. In the first half of the nineteenth century a determined and successful effort had been made to revive the language and the sense of nationality of the Czechs, and, encouraged by the boldness and success of the Magyars in Hungary, the Bohemians sent a number of demands to Vienna. They asked for and were granted a constitutional government in which German and Czech would be of equal status.

Thus, within the single month of March, 1848, the Metternich system of repression entirely collapsed, and its author passed into exile. Hungary and Bohemia obtained constitutions which left them subject to the Emperor but independent in all other respects; Austria proper was promised a similar grant; the Italian provinces were in revolt, even against the Emperor. The Empire seemed to be on the verge of dissolution.

A Diet representative of all parts of the Empire was summoned to meet in Vienna to consider the promised constitution, but in April, 1848, a constitution was proclaimed before the Diet had even met. It is possible that this course was followed by the Emperor's advisers in the expectation that a constitution settled by them would be less revolutionary than one drawn up by the Diet. The new constitution was to apply to the whole Austrian Empire with the exception of Hungary, Croatia, and Transylvania. A Reichstag (Parliament) of two Chambers was to be set up, and ministers were to be responsible to it. But the proposed electoral law was not sufficiently democratic to please the Vienna mob, in which the student, rather than the working-class, element predominated, and in May rioting was renewed in the city. The Government attempted to dissolve a body known as the "Central Committee," which controlled the National Guard; a renewed outbreak forced the ministers to change their policy. Soon after the flight of the Emperor, mentioned below, an effort to disband the Academic Legion, a military organisation of university students, was equally unsuccessful, and the Government, in its helplessness, promised to submit the recently proclaimed constitution to be revised by a Constituent Assembly of one Chamber and to establish universal suffrage.

Already the Emperor had lost all authority in Vienna and decided to leave the city. He withdrew to Innsbruck, in the Tyrol, where he was joined by the aristocrats and reactionaries. From Innsbruck began the work of the counter-revolution. The court was able again to communicate with its partisans in various parts of the Empire and to direct their activities. It encouraged the divisions which developed among the revolutionaries, and it made use of the racial hatreds which soon appeared. The next few months were to witness an astonishing revival of the power of the central Government and the reversal of nearly all that had taken place.

The first victory for reaction was in Bohemia. The two races in that country, Czech and German, had combined in March to demand a constitution, but disagreements soon appeared. The Germans wished Bohemia to be represented in the Parliament which was meeting at Frankfort to draw up a constitution for the German nation, and they hoped for the inclusion of Bohemia, and, indeed, of Austria, in a united Germany. The Czechs, among whom national consciousness had been developing for many years, were resolutely opposed to a course which would involve their being submerged in the German nation, and they wanted Bohemia to recover her ancient status as an independent kingdom, subject only to the Emperor. A Pan-Slavic Congress, representative of many Slav races, met at Prague in June, 1848, as a counter-demonstration against the Pan-German Assembly at Frankfort. The extremists at the Congress even suggested a Slav Confederation to embrace all Slav nations, including Russia, and though this was far removed from the Czech dream of an independent Bohemia and, for geographical reasons, could never be accomplished, feeling ran so high in Prague that fighting occurred between Czechs and Germans in the streets of the city. Windischgratz, the commander of the Imperial troops in Bohemia, decided to restore order by force. On 17th June, 1848, he bombarded Prague for twelve hours and reduced it to submission. The Bohemian revolution was at an end.

A few weeks later, on 25th July, Radetzky defeated the Piedmontese forces at Custozza. Austrian authority was restored in Lombardy, and Milan, which had been lost for a time, was recovered at the beginning of August.

The promised Austrian Diet or Constituent Assembly, elected by universal suffrage, met at Vienna in July, 1848. The Czech delegates were in a majority, and, fearing the re-establishment of German domination in the Austrian Empire, they bitterly opposed the Germans. The Diet consequently achieved little, the only solid result of its labours being the emancipation of serfs throughout the Austrian dominions.

The most stubborn resistance to the re-establishment of absolute power was maintained by Hungary, where, however, the diversity of races was turned to good account by the Imperial Government. The Slavs of Croatia—Croats and Serbs—and the Roumanians of Transylvania demanded of the Hungarian Diet, now fully established under the March Laws and meeting at Budapesth, privileges similar to those which the Magyars had won from the Austrians—the establishment of separate provinces with local self-government, and the recognition of their languages. The Magyars refused these demands and aroused the hostility of the Slav races. In so doing they committed a fatal blunder. Sooner or later they would have to fight against the Austrians for the maintenance of what they had won, and they should have foreseen this struggle and prepared for it by conciliating the minor races within the Hungarian borders.

At this time the Austrian Emperor appointed Baron Jellachich to be Governor, or Ban, of Croatia. Jellachich, himself a Croat, put himself at the head of the nationalist movement against the Magyars in the province, and since it was to the advantage of the Emperor to foment discord between one race and another it is probable that Jellachich was working from the outset for the ultimate restoration of the Emperor's authority. He summoned a Croatian Diet, and he approved its action in decreeing the separation of Croatia from Hungary. The Hungarian Prime Minister, Count Batthyany, complained to the Emperor, and Jellachich was suspended from office, but he visited his master in Innsbruck and returned to Croatia with renewed authority. It is probable that Ferdinand realised that Jellachich's policy, which was weakening the Magyar power, would ultimately lead to the restoration of the Imperial authority in the disaffected regions.

Moderate men in the Hungarian Diet, such as Deák, still hoped for a peaceful settlement of the matters at issue, but the Austrian Government, encouraged by its successes in Bohemia and Italy, resolved to reduce the Magyars by force. Jellachich crossed the Drave, which separates Hungary from Croatia, and was given command of all Imperial troops in Hungary. By an Imperial decree of 3rd October, 1848, the Hungarian Diet was dissolved, though it refused to disperse.

The outbreak of war between Austria and Hungary led to a third rising in Vienna, in October, 1848. The democratic party in Vienna sympathised with the Magyars, and the mob, enraged by the dispatch of troops to Hungary, murdered Latour, the Minister for War. The Emperor, who had returned to his capital from Innsbruck some weeks earlier, fled to Olmütz, and the Slav majority in the Austrian Diet removed to Brünn, though the German minority remained in Vienna.

Jellachich, who had been defeated by the Hungarians at Veldencze and had retreated, now marched against Vienna and was joined by Windischgratz. The Hungarians might have marched at once to the support of the Viennese democrats, but they hesitated to enter Austrian territory without invitation; the Assembly at Vienna was reluctant to ask for their assistance, and it was not until the city was besieged and bombarded that a Hungarian army marched to its relief. It was defeated by Jellachich at Schwechat, and Vienna thereupon surrendered. The Diet was transferred to Kremsier, near Olmutz, and the work of constitution-making continued. It was completed early in 1849, and the Constituent Diet was dissolved when the new constitution was proclaimed.

The Imperial authority was now restored everywhere except in Hungary, where the Magyars were now to feel to the full the effects of their oppressive policy towards the Serbs, Croats, and Roumanians. As a preliminary to the subjugation of Hungary the reactionary party in Austria, now led by Prince Felix Schwarzenberg, induced Ferdinand I, in December, 1848, to abdicate in favour of his nephew Francis Joseph, a lad of eighteen. It was held that Ferdinand's position was difficult in view of his having sanctioned the Hungarian constitution by consenting to the March Laws, but that his assent need not be binding upon his successor. Francis Joseph annulled the Hungarian constitution and declared the Austrian Empire to be one and indivisible. The Hungarian Diet, on the other hand, declared that Francis Joseph had no authority in Hungary until he had been crowned in the country with the crown of St. Stephen. Ferdinand was looked upon as still King of Hungary, and the Austrians who invaded Hungary as supporters of Francis Joseph were considered to be rebels acting on behalf of a usurper.

In the winter of 1848–9 the Hungarians maintained a bitter and, in the main, unsuccessful struggle against Windischgratz, who occupied Budapesth and defeated the Magyars under Dembinski at Kápolna. This victory appeared to be decisive, but the Hungarians rallied, and under Gorgei they won a series of victories, recovering Budapesth and even driving the Austrians out of the country. This was the moment when peace should have been sought. Austria was as much exhausted as Hungary. A large part of the Austrian army was still detained in Italy, and the Imperial Government would have been glad to make terms. But Kossuth showed his lack of true statesmanship by inducing the Diet to proclaim Hungary an independent republic with himself as President.

It was a fatal mistake. Görgei had never been friendly with Kossuth and was irritated by this new move. But a far more serious result was the intervention of the Tsar. Nicholas I was altogether unwilling to see a republic established so close to Poland, which was always seething with discontent. Francis Joseph appealed for Russian help, and Russian armies promptly invaded Hungary.

Magyar resistance was now hopeless. Russians from the east, Austrians from the west, Croats under Jellachich from the south-west converged on the forces of Dembinski and Gorgei. The former was overthrown at Temesvar; the latter, to whom Kossuth had resigned his authority, surrendered to the Russians at Vilagos.

Austrian authority was thus re-established in Hungary, though to no small extent by Russian bayonets. Vengeance was exacted on the unfortunate Magyars. A large number of prominent men were put to death, though Kossuth, with some thousands of his followers, escaped to Turkey. The Hungarian constitution was abolished, and the land became a province of Austria. Nor were Croatia and Transylvania in any better state. The provincial liberties to which they had aspired were denied them, despite the great services which they had rendered to the Austrian cause. Absolutism prevailed everywhere.

Yet some permanent advantage accrued from the risings in the Austrian dominions in the year of revolutions. Serfdom had been abolished, and no attempt was made to restore it. Henceforth the peasants were not called upon to render compulsory labour. And, although no further progress towards political and constitutional reform was made for many years, social and economic questions were no longer neglected, and the period which followed the risings was not so barren of change as had been the Metternich *régime*.

CHAPTER XV

REVOLUTION AND REACTION IN GERMANY

It was pointed out in an earlier chapter that the German Confederation was, for thirty years or more, dominated by Metternich, whose system of repression of Liberalism and maintenance of absolute authority prevailed everywhere. It is not surprising, therefore, that when the news of the fall of Louis Philippe in Paris was followed by that of Metternich in Vienna the effect was electrical. The flight of Metternich was regarded as the most important event in European affairs since the Battle of Waterloo. It was more than the retirement of a statesman; it was the collapse of a system which he had maintained for a generation.

Revolutionary movements spread from state to state throughout the German Confederation. There was a general demand for constitutional liberty within the states, while a strong body of advanced opinion thought the time was ripe for the achievement of German unity. The Governments were not prepared to resist, and constitutions were granted in many states.

As already stated, there had for some time been in Prussia an agitation for the establishment of a really representative Parliament. Berlin was the scene of popular disturbances. The streets were crowded with an excited mob, public meetings were held, and collisions occurred between the people and the troops. Frederick William IV yielded to popular clamour by abolishing the censorship of the press and by calling together again the Prussian United Diet to frame a constitution. Disorder continued, however; barricades were raised in the streets, and fighting broke out. The King, at first undecided whether to make further concessions or to restore order by force, resolved upon the former course. He called upon the people to disperse, and withdrew his troops from Berlin. He permitted the formation of a National Guard and rode in procession through the streets, wearing the colours (red, black, and gold) of the Holy

Roman Empire. He promised to co-operate in the movement which was proceeding elsewhere for the promotion of German unity, and he went so far as to pronounce Prussia to be "absorbed in Germany."

Men of Liberal views in Germany had always been dissatisfied with the loose Confederation established by the Congress of Vienna, and the opportunity seemed to have come for the formation of a strong and united German state. An informal reform meeting was held at Heidelberg early in March, 1848, and it took steps for the summoning of a *Vorparlament*, popularly elected, to consider the best means of establishing a united Germany. This body met at the beginning of April and arranged for the election of a National Assembly to draw up a constitution. This National Assembly, often referred to as the Constituent Parliament, met in the middle of May at Frankfort. The princes were powerless to prevent the elections, and the Diet of the Confederation, faced by firm expressions of opinion in every part of Germany, sanctioned the proceedings.

The Frankfort Parliament failed to fulfil expectations. Its members were inexperienced in the practical work of government; yet they ought to have understood the necessity for the immediate establishment of a German constitution while Austria was still too much absorbed by internal disorders to interfere and Prussia was still dominated by the democrats. Neither of the two great monarchies could be expected to view the proceedings at Frankfort with favour, but if a constitution for Germany had been drawn up and put into working order before they had settled their internal troubles they might have hesitated to attack it. The Parliament, unfortunately, wasted much time in debates on abstract rights, and during this period the two most powerful states in the Confederation were recovering their authority over their turbulent subjects.

After some months the Frankfort Parliament set to work seriously to draft a constitution. It was decided that the Government of united Germany should control, among other things, the foreign policy and the military forces of the state. But the real difficulties in the work of constitution-making lay in two points—the boundaries of the new state and its headship. Austrian dominions were partly within and partly outside the old German Confederation. If the whole of the Austrian Empire were included in united Germany the new state would not be wholly, perhaps not even predominantly, German, and German questions might be decided by the votes of Italians, Roumanians, and Magyars. A proposal to admit only the distinctively German provinces, so that the boundaries of the new Germany would coincide with those of the German Confederation, was refused by Austria, who was determined to maintain the unity of her dominions. The Frankfort Assembly thereupon excluded Austria altogether from the proposed state, and, as it was not in the least likely that she would assent to her exclusion from a country in which hitherto she had been predominant, the Assembly turned to Prussia for support. It decided, in March, 1849, to offer the headship of a hereditary German Empire to the King of Prussia.

Exactly a year earlier, Frederick William IV had declared his sympathy with the idea of German unity, but he had had time to change his mind, and he now declined the offer of the Imperial crown. Many motives probably influenced him. The position of a German Emperor, as contemplated at Frankfort, would have been one of greater dignity than power, for the authority of the head of the new German state was to be strictly limited. Perhaps Frederick William did not relish occupying a position which would be full of difficulties. A more potent reason lay in his respect for Austria. The Holy Roman Empire had been extinct for nearly half a century, but the traditional veneration for the Hapsburgs remained, and Frederick William felt instinctively that the headship of united Germany ought to be offered to the living representative of the most exalted family in Europe. It was probable, moreover, that if Frederick William accepted an Imperial crown he would find himself at war with Austria. But, most of all, he disliked the idea of receiving the Imperial crown as a gift from the representatives of the people. The monarch who was raised to the throne in that way would be merely the chief official of the state, and the power which had conferred the crown upon him would have the right to take it away. The King of Prussia considered that he and the other German rulers held their authority from God; if his fellow-princes cared to surrender the whole or part of their power to an Emperor they might properly do so, but Imperial authority could never be conferred by the people.

The constitution drawn up by the Frankfort Parliament thus failed to win the approval of Austria and Prussia, and the other four German kingdoms, Hanover, Saxony, Bavaria, and Wurtemberg, also declined to sanction it. The acceptance of the constitution by twenty-eight smaller states was of little importance in view of the withdrawal of the kingdoms, and the Frankfort Parliament, after having removed to Stuttgart, dispersed in June, 1849, without having achieved its object.

While attention in Germany was being concentrated on the Frankfort Parliament and its failure, the work of constitution-making was proceeding in Prussia. As stated above, Frederick William had called together the Prussian United Diet to frame a constitution. It was soon replaced by a Constituent Assembly, which, however, was not very successful. It was dissolved in December, 1848, and a new constitution, establishing two elected Chambers, was proclaimed by the Crown. Disputes between the King and the new Parliament led to modifications, and a revised constitution was put forth in February, 1850. Prussia ranked henceforth as a constitutional state.

The movement for a united Germany was not yet at an end. In 1849 Frederick William invited the representatives of other states to Berlin, and to them he suggested the formation of a closer German Union under Prussian leadership. Saxony and Hanover assented at first, and with Prussia formed the "League of the Three Kings." It was not proposed that membership of the new Confederation should be compulsory, but it was hoped that, as in the case of the Zollverein, the advantages of union would induce many states to enter. Most of the smaller states joined the new Union, but Austria, Bavaria, and Würtemberg held aloof, and when it was proposed to summon another German National Parliament, to meet this time at Erfurt, Hanover and Saxony left the "League of the Three Kings," and with Bavaria and Würtemberg formed the "League of the Four Kings" against Prussia, early in 1850. The Erfurt Parliament met, but it accomplished no more than its predecessor at Frankfort.

Austria was now sufficiently recovered from her internal troubles to intervene. Her new Chancellor, Schwarzenberg, summoned a meeting of the Diet of the old German Confederation, and a crisis in Hesse-Cassel at this time offered an opportunity for a trial of strength between Austria, with the Confederation, and Prussia, with her new Union. The Elector of Hesse-Cassel had annulled the constitution which he had granted to his people in 1848 and had withdrawn from the

Prussian League. His subjects revolted and appealed to Prussia; he appealed to the Diet of the German Confederation. If the King of Prussia failed to support the people of Hesse his league would collapse; if he took up arms on their behalf a war would begin which would involve the whole question of the future of Germany, for either Austria and the old Confederation or Prussia and a united Germany would prevail.

Frederick William shrank from the appeal to the sword. Austrian and Bavarian troops subjugated the Hessians, and Prussia agreed to the Convention of Olmütz, by which the German Confederation with its Diet, as established in 1815, was to be restored and the German Union under Prussian leadership was to be dissolved. Prussian humiliation was complete; Austria was as triumphant in the German Confederation as in her own dominions. In only one respect did Prussia hold her own. Austria desired to enter the Zollverein, but was prevented; when the Customs Union was renewed she remained outside it.

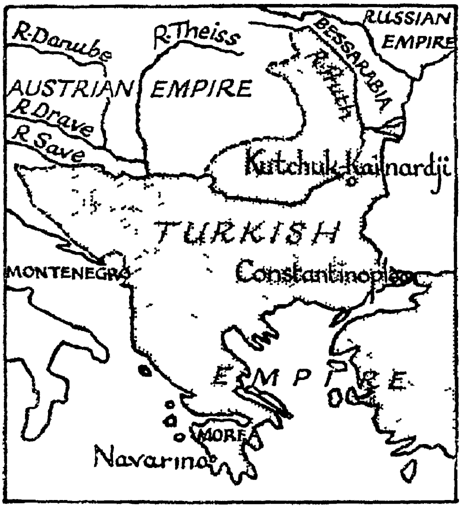
CHAPTER XVI

THE EASTERN QUESTION—TO THE TREATY OF PARIS, 1856

EUROPEAN statesmen in the nineteenth century were faced with a group of problems arising out of the decay of the Turkish Empire. The Ottoman Turks in the prime of their strength had ruled over the Balkan Peninsula (where, however, the mountainous principality of Montenegro had never been fully subjugated by them), Asia Minor, Syria, Mesopotamia, Arabia, Egypt, and almost the whole of the north coast of Africa. During the eighteenth century their power declined, and, as already stated in an earlier chapter, their Empire seemed at one time to be in danger of conquest and dismemberment by Austrians and Russians. The central Government was so weak that it was unable to control the governors of the more distant regions, and some of the African provinces remained only nominally subject to the Sultan. The rulers of Algiers and Tunis became independent sovereigns, and during the nineteenth century Mehemet Ali, in Egypt, followed their example. The revolt of one province after another in European Turkey during the nineteenth century seemed to give further indication that the Empire was falling to pieces.

The Balkan Peninsula contained several Christian races—Greek, Roumanian, Bulgarian, Serbian—subject to the Sultan. Turkish rule in the Balkans was characterised by occasional outbursts of barbaric savagery upon these unfortunate peoples. The sympathy of the nations of Europe was with the Christian races, and as early as 1774 Russia, by the Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji, had been given the right to protect the Christian inhabitants of the Danubian provinces by bringing their complaints to the notice of the Sultan. Other powers, however, refused to regard Russian action in the Balkans as disinterested, and viewed any attempt by the Tsar to champion the cause of the oppressed peoples in the south-east of Europe as a move in the Russian policy of securing an outlet to the Mediterranean. So long as Russia was willing to take up arms on behalf of the

Christians the statesmen of western and central Europe were prepared to support the Turkish Empire as a barrier against Russian advance. The problem which Europe was called upon to solve in the nineteenth century was that of obtaining for the small Christian nations relief from Turkish misrule without sanctioning an extension of Russian influence, and it was complicated by the jealousies and suspicions existing among the great powers, and, later, among the Balkan nations.



The Balkans—before 1829

This group of problems, dealing with lands and peoples from the Danube to the Nile, is commonly referred to as the Eastern Question. It should not be confused with the Far Eastern Question, which is concerned with matters arising during the nineteenth century out of the awakening of Japan and China to the influences of European civilisation, matters in which also Russia was interested.

The Serbs were the first of the subject races to rise against Turkish misrule. A struggle began in 1804 under the leadership of Karageorge, a man of peasant birth, and the movement was supported by Russia until 1812, when, in view of the Napoleonic invasion, the Tsar made peace with Turkey. The Turks recovered Serbia for a time, but the rising was renewed under Milosh Obrenovitch, who in 1820 secured recognition from the Sultan as "Prince of the Serbians." Backed by Russia, he continued to press for Serbian independence. By 1830 Serbia's connection with the Ottoman Empire had become no more than nominal, and the country was henceforth under the rule of princes of the Obrenovitch line ruling by hereditary right.

The Greeks of the early nineteenth century were the degenerate descendants of the noble race of ancient times. They suffered from Turkish oppression, being subject to heavy taxation and brutal treatment, though they were permitted to practise their religion. With the decline of Turkish power in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries occurred a revival of the Greek national spirit. Ancient Greek literature was read, and an attempt was made to restore the classical Greek language in place of the corrupt dialect spoken by the people. Interest in the intellectual glories of their ancestors stimulated the national consciousness of the Greeks, and a longing for independence arose. In 1814 a society, the *Hetairia Philike*, was formed by some Greeks at Odessa; it aimed at freeing the Greeks from Turkish rule, and, ultimately, at expelling the Turks from Europe. It became widespread and powerful, and in 1821 war broke out in the Morea.

The Greeks hoped that the movement might be led by Capodistrias, a friend of the Tsar, but he declined, and Prince Alexander Ypsilanti headed the revolt. The War of Greek Independence was fought with great ferocity on both sides. The Greeks attempted to make it a war of extermination against their oppressors, and in revenge for Greek massacres of Turkish peasantry the Turks hanged the Patriarch of Constantinople, the head of the Greek Church, in his robes, at the gate of his palace, on Easter Day, 1821. For some years both sides carried on the conflict with the utmost barbarity. European sympathy was with the Greeks, and in many countries societies were formed for the purpose of assisting them with money and troops. Thousands of volunteers fought for the Greeks, and without their assistance it is probable that the rebellion would have collapsed.

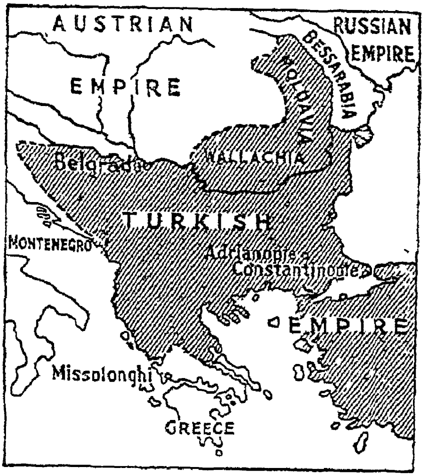
In 1825 the Sultan obtained help from Mehemet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, and a fleet and an army were sent under the command of Ibrahim to assist in the suppression of the revolt. For a time the intervention of the Egyptians appeared to be decisive. The Morea was recovered, and few places remained to be reconquered.

The Governments of Europe were perplexed by the Greek revolt. It was exceptionally difficult for the principles of the Holy Alliance to be applied to it. In other cases the Alliance had been willing to assist a despotic monarch to suppress a revolutionary outbreak, but it could not be maintained that it would be in accordance with Christian principles to help a Mohammedan Sultan to put down a revolt of his Christian subjects. On the other hand, Greek success would encourage restless and discontented people elsewhere in Europe to rise against their rulers, and the Alliance existed to put down such attempts. This point of view appealed to Metternich, who was not interested in the Greeks as Christians and who detested them as rebels. For some years his influence was used to prevent assistance being given to them, but the growth of sympathy with them brought the question of intervention to the front.

Nicholas I succeeded his brother Alexander as Tsar in 1825, and, though he had no sympathy with the rebellion as such, he was known to be in favour of assisting the Greeks on account of their professing the same form of Christianity as the Russians. But European statesmen felt that, if the Tsar intervened to secure for the Greeks their independence, Russian influence would be extended in the Balkan Peninsula, and a movement would begin which might culminate in Russia's securing an outlet to the Mediterranean. For this reason Canning, the British Foreign Minister, did not wish to see the Turkish Empire weakened, but the cruelty of Ibrahim in the Morea convinced him that intervention could be delayed no longer. He felt that on grounds of humanity it would be hardly possible to object to Russia's taking up arms, and he sent the Duke of Wellington to St. Petersburg to arrange for joint Anglo-Russian action. It was agreed that the two powers should offer to mediate between the Sultan and the Greeks, and when the Sultan declined the proposal more drastic steps were considered. The French Government indicated its approval of Anglo-Russian policy, and in 1827, by the Treaty of London, the three powers agreed to compel the Sultan to accept their mediation and to recognise the autonomy of the Greeks. The Sultan again refused, and the three powers sent their fleets to Turkish waters. They encountered the Turkish and Egyptian fleets in the Bay of Navarino, and, although no state of war existed between the three powers and the Ottoman Empire, a chance shot brought about a battle in which the Turco-Egyptian fleet was destroyed.

The Battle of Navarino was almost accidental, but it was decisive; though Greek independence was not yet won it was no longer in doubt. The Sultan, indeed, demanded and was refused reparation. Great Britain, under the premiership of Wellington, who described the Battle of Navarino as an "untoward event," withdrew from participation in Eastern affairs. But Russia declared war against Turkey in 1828, and a Russian army invaded Turkish territory and marched towards Constantinople. The Sultan was compelled to give way.

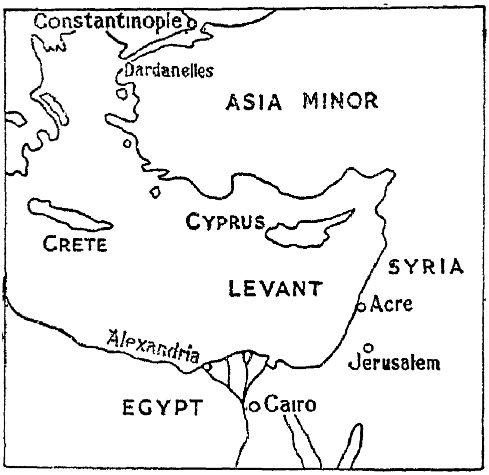
By the Treaty of Adrianople, in 1829, Greece was recognised as a self-governing state under Turkish overlordship. The Greeks, however, refused to accept this as a solution of the problem, and in 1832 the kingdom of Greece was recognised as fully independent, with Otto of Bavaria, who reached the country at the beginning of 1833, as King. The provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia were, at the same time, freed to a considerable extent from Turkish control.



THE BALKANS—AFTER THE TREATY OF ADRIANOPLE, 1829

It had been Canning's object to prevent Russia from acting by herself on behalf of the Greeks, lest she should gain an accession of influence in the Balkans; by Wellington's change of policy Canning's plan was frustrated. Through the withdrawal of Great Britain from the settlement of Greek affairs Russia scored a diplomatic triumph. Her prestige increased, and the Greeks felt that it was to her rather than to any other power that the success of the struggle was due. Moldavia and Wallachia, too, felt that they ought to be grateful to Russia; the Tsar's influence was definitely on the increase in the Balkan Peninsula.

The Sultan was unwilling to grant to Mehemet Ali the province of Syria, which the Pasha expected as a reward for his assistance against the Greeks. In 1832 Egyptian troops overran Syria and invaded Asia Minor. To prevent Constantinople from falling into the hands of the rebels, the Sultan, failing to obtain help from other powers, accepted a Russian offer of assistance. In return, he agreed to the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi (1833), by which, in effect, the Dardanelles were to be closed in time of war to the warships of all nations except Russia. By this arrangement Russian vessels, in any future war, would be permitted to emerge from the Black Sea and to operate in the Mediterranean and, if necessary, to withdraw into the Black Sea without fear of pursuit. Russia appeared to have gained complete ascendancy at Constantinople. Great Britain, France, and Austria protested, but without avail. Strong suspicion of Russian designs was aroused in Great Britain, suspicion which affected British policy for many years. Meanwhile, peace was patched up between the Sultan and the Egyptian Pasha, by which the latter retained Syria.



The Levant, 1840–1

Turco-Egyptian fighting in Syria was renewed in 1839, and the Egyptians were again successful. France under Louis Philippe and Thiers backed Mehemet Ali. Palmerston, who at this time was Foreign Secretary in Great Britain, realised that, in the absence of British intervention, a Turkish victory would further extend Russian influence over the crumbling Empire, while an Egyptian victory would go far towards establishing that French influence in Egypt and Syria which was threatened forty years earlier and which was prevented by Nelson's victory at the Battle of the Nile. He decided, by supporting Turkey, to deprive Russia of that accession of power which she would have gained if she had been allowed to act by herself. Since the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi had been signed the Tsar had realised that an attempt to control Constantinople in Russian interests alone would sooner or later lead to war with Great Britain and, probably, with all the other European powers. He was, therefore, by no means unwilling to come to a good understanding with Great Britain. He accepted the association of other powers with Russia in the settlement of the question, and he virtually abandoned the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi. Austria and Prussia assented, and the four powers in 1840 formed a Quadruple Alliance to bring about a settlement of the Syrian Question by offering terms to Mehemet Ali, and, if necessary, compelling him to accept them. Supported by the French, the Pasha refused, but Acre was captured and the Egyptians were expelled from Syria.

By the Treaty of London, 1841, Mehemet Ali was compelled to renounce his claim to Syria, and, in return, his position as hereditary Pasha of Egypt, under only the nominal overlordship of the Sultan, was guaranteed by the powers. (The course of events in Egypt after 1841 ceased to be bound up with Turkish history.) France was isolated from the rest of Europe and found herself powerless to save her ally, and, in consequence, her prestige was lowered. Later in the year she was invited to join the other powers in signing the Convention of the Straits, by which the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus were to be closed to the warships of all nations, so that the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi ceased to be effective.

The settlement of the Syrian Question must be regarded as a diplomatic triumph for Palmerston, despite criticisms called forth at the time. Had he withdrawn, as Wellington did in 1828, the position of either France or Russia would have been strengthened. Palmerston's intervention prevented either power from unduly extending its influence, and the Sultan learned to rely less completely for protection upon Russia.

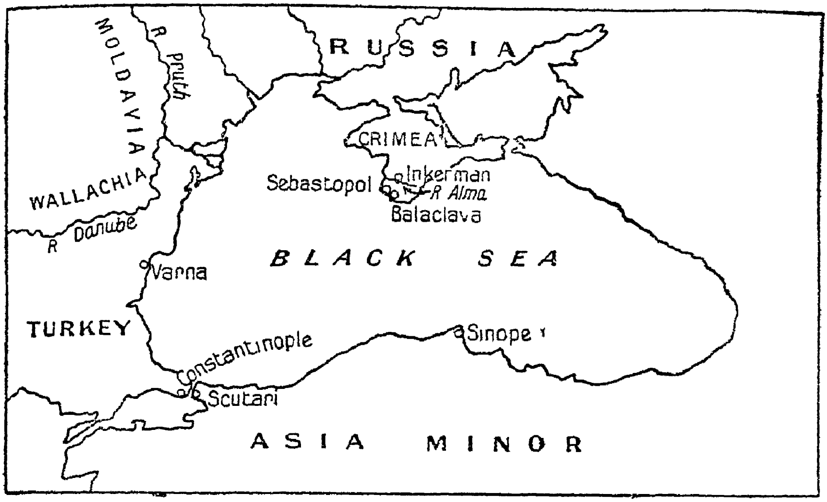
No further development of the Eastern Question occurred for several years, and during this period the Tsar attempted, without much success, to reach a better understanding with Great Britain. He visited this country in 1844 and hinted at the possibility of partition of Turkish dominions. Some years later, in conversation with the British ambassador at St. Petersburg, he referred to Turkey as the "sick man of Europe." His metaphor implied the necessity of making arrangements for the disposal of the sick man's possessions after his death; British ministers were of opinion that the illness was not incurable, or, at least, that death might be postponed for a long time. The Tsar suggested that Great Britain should seize Egypt and either Crete or Cyprus, while Russia established subject principalities in the Balkans, but he failed to allay British suspicions or to change the course of British policy.

Between the settlement of the Syrian Question in 1841 and the outbreak of the Crimean War in 1854 the Tsar had thus made two distinct attempts to reach an understanding with Great Britain with a view to effecting a permanent settlement of the Eastern Question. His good faith can hardly be called in question. He had given proof of it by the abandonment of the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi and by his readiness to co-operate with Great Britain in the settlement of the Syrian Question. He probably thought that the combination of Russian military strength with British naval power would be sufficiently formidable to induce other powers to accept a settlement backed so strongly. It is at least arguable that British ministers were unwise to reject his overtures outright. The Turks deserved no consideration, and an agreement might have been reached which would have rendered the Crimean War and the Russo-Turkish War of 1877 unnecessary. Russia and Great Britain would have become firm allies, and Russian predominance in the Balkans need not have been prejudicial to British interests. Moreover, it is to be observed that the position of the Eastern Question in the early twentieth century bore a striking similarity to the solution suggested by the Tsar.

Disputes in Palestine between the clergy of the Roman Catholic Church and those of the Greek Orthodox Church brought the Eastern Question to the forefront again and led ultimately to the Crimean War. The point at issue appeared to be petty. The Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem was used by both groups of clergy. Both sides possessed keys of the church, but, while the Greeks held the key of the great door, the Roman Catholics had the key of the side door only and, for the sake of maintaining equality of right, claimed a key of the great door also. Their cause was championed by France, which was now for the second time an Empire, under the rule of Napoleon III, who wished to strengthen his position at home by winning the cordial support of the Catholic party. Napoleon, by his ambassador at Constantinople, demanded for the Roman Catholic clergy a key of the great door of the Church of the Nativity.

The Russian ambassador at Constantinople, Menshikoff, opposed the French demand, but Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the British ambassador, supported it, and the Sultan, in fear of Russian aggression, conceded Napoleon's claim and refused a Russian demand for recognition as the protector of the Greek Christians who were subject to Turkey—a more definite claim than that conceded by the Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji. Menshikov left Constantinople in 1853, and preparations were made for war.

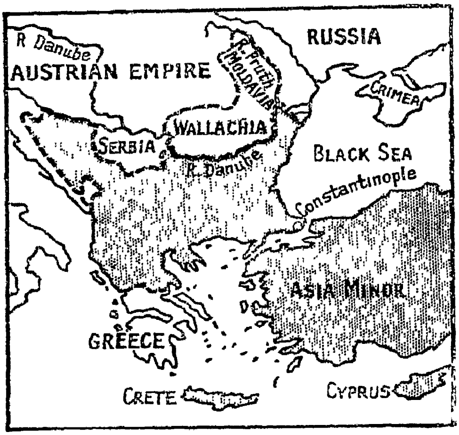
Russian troops invaded Moldavia and Wallachia (modern Roumania), and the British and French fleets proceeded to Turkish waters. Representatives of the powers met at Vienna and attempted to settle the questions at issue by peaceful negotiations, but they failed, and the Russian fleet destroyed a Turkish squadron at Sinope. British and French fleets passed through the Dardanelles into the Black Sea, and troops were massed at Varna to prevent Russian advance. The Turks stubbornly defended their territory, and the Tsar, fearing lest Austria should join with the other powers and attack his troops on the flank, withdrew them across the Pruth and abandoned the two provinces. At the same time the Black Sea fleet withdrew to Sebastopol, a fortress on the shore of the Crimean Peninsula.


MOLDAVIA
R Pruth
RUSSIA
CRIMEA
Sebastopol
Inkerman
R Alma
Balaclava
WALLACHIA
R Danube
Varna
BLACK SEA
TURKEY
Constantinople
Sinope
Scutari
ASIA MINOR

THE CRIMEAN WAR

The object of the war, the expulsion of the Russians from Turkish territory, was thus attained. But Napoleon III, desirous of strengthening his throne by achieving military successes and eager, by humiliating Russia, to obliterate the memory of 1812, determined to keep on. Great Britain, too, wished to weaken Russia to such an extent that she would no longer be a menace to Turkey. The allies decided, therefore, to seize and destroy Sebastopol and to capture or sink the Russian fleet.

The British army, under Lord Raglan, and the French, under Marshal St. Arnaud, landed in the Crimea in 1854 and defeated a Russian force at the Battle of the Alma. If an immediate attack had been launched against Sebastopol it is probable that it would have succeeded, as the fortifications were not complete. But Raglan's advice to attack was overruled by St. Arnaud; the defences of the fortress were strengthened by Todleben, and the siege was formed. Battles occurred at Balaclava and Inkerman — ding - dong, hand-to-hand fights, remarkable for the bravery of the troops and the incapacity of their leaders. The siege of Sebastopol continued during the winter, and the soldiers suffered terribly from sickness, cold, and lack of supplies. The privations of the men were made known to the British public through the columns of *The Times*, and public indignation was reflected in the House of Commons, where the Aberdeen Government was defeated and Palmerston became Prime Minister. Under his direction conditions improved; the British attacked the Redan while the French took the Malakoff, and towards the end of the summer of 1855 the Russians under Gortschakoff evacuated Sebastopol. It fell into the hands of the allies, and its fortifications were destroyed.



THE BALKANS—AFTER THE TREATY OF PARIS, 1856

Nicholas died in 1855 and was succeeded by Alexander II. In the spring of that year negotiations for peace were opened, but no agreement was reached. Further overtures were made after the fall of Sebastopol, and in 1856 the Treaty of Paris was signed.

The Treaty contained no reference to the trivialities which, nominally, had caused the war, but it attempted to reach a settlement of the Eastern Question. Conquests made during the war were to be restored, but the Russians undertook not to refortify Sebastopol. The Dardanelles were to be closed to the warships, and open to the trading vessels, of all nations, and neither Russia nor Turkey was to keep a fleet in the Black Sea. The navigation of the Danube was declared to be free. The provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia were made practically independent of Turkey, the Sultan retaining only nominal overlordship, and the freedom of these states and of Serbia was guaranteed by the powers. To Moldavia Russia yielded a part of Bessarabia. Turkey was admitted to the "European concert," the Sultan being permitted to send representatives to future congresses of the powers, who renounced, individually and collectively, any claim to interfere in Turkish internal affairs. The Russian right, under the Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji, to the guardianship of Christian peoples under Ottoman rule was thus abandoned.

The peace conference at Paris dealt also with certain questions of maritime law. In time past Great Britain had claimed the right to seize the goods of an enemy power even when they were being conveyed in neutral ships; this was now abandoned, and in return other powers renounced their right to attack the commerce of their foes by making use of privateers.

The solution of the Eastern Question put forward by the Treaty of Paris proved in every way to be insufficient and unsatisfactory. By the declaration of the powers that they had neither the right nor the intention of interfering in the internal affairs of Turkey the Christian peoples which remained in the Ottoman Empire were made to understand that they could not look to Europe for aid against intolerable oppression, and that in future they must rely upon themselves for their own protection. Russia was not permanently weakened and remained a factor in the Balkan problem. The inevitable collapse of the Ottoman Empire was postponed, but Turkey was neither strengthened nor regenerated, and in course of time her misrule in the Balkans called again for European action.

CHAPTER XVII

THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY

METTERNICH on one occasion referred to Italy as a "geographical expression." Hemmed in on the north by mountains and bounded elsewhere only by the sea, Italy seemed to be more favourably placed than most of the countries of Europe for the attainment of unity and independence. Yet since the early Middle Ages she had been from time to time the battle-ground of the greater powers, and her territory had been split up into many small states which had fought one another, been conquered or annexed, recovered separate existence, been enlarged or diminished in extent, in a bewildering succession of events.

Yet throughout these kaleidoscopic changes it is remarkable that Italian nationality persisted. At different times parts of the peninsula had been under Spanish, French, Austrian, or German rule, but the subject people had not become Spanish or French or Austrian or German; they had remained Italian. North of the Alps, even as late as the middle of the nineteenth century, a man was Bavarian or Saxon or Prussian, rather than German. In Italy, though men were Neapolitans or Florentines or Venetians they were also Italians. This sense of nationality, fostered by common language and religion and by some recollection of the greatness of Imperial Rome, lay dormant, but not extinct, in the eighteenth century, and it was revived by the conquests of Napoleon in the Italian peninsula. The petty despotisms of the eighteenth century were swept away; efficiency and vigour replaced corruption and oppression. Unity, indeed, was not established. Part of the country was annexed to France, the kingdom of Italy occupied the north and centre, and the kingdom of Naples remained in the south. But a system by which Italy was divided among only three Governments, all of which were dominated by the mind of one man, approached more nearly to unity than anything which had existed in the land for centuries.

The Congress of Vienna decided to restore, in Italy, the old divisions, and in most of them, though not in all, the old rulers, and the hopes of the more enlightened Italians—that the fall of Napoleon would be followed by the establishment of a single Government for the whole country—were dashed to the ground. For the next forty-five years there were eight separate political units in Italy. In the southern part of the peninsula was the kingdom of Naples, which included the island of Sicily. It was still largely feudal in character, its people were lazy and ignorant, and its administration was corrupt. North of the kingdom of Naples and Sicily (often known as the kingdom of the Two Sicilies) lay the States of the Church, which stretched like a saddle across Italy and extended along its eastern coast as far north as the Po. The Papal states, which included Romagna, the marches of Ancona, Umbria, and the Patrimony of St. Peter, were under the rule of ecclesiastics, and corruption, oppression, and incompetence prevailed. West and north of the Papal States lay the grand duchy of Tuscany, under a prince of the House of Hapsburg, whose rule was enlightened and who encouraged the imitation in Tuscany of the material progress which was being made elsewhere in Europe in agriculture, industry, and commerce. Lucca was now a small duchy to the north-west of Tuscany. Parma and Modena were two duchies on the south bank of the Po. The former was assigned to the ex-Empress Marie Louise, who, although she was of Austrian birth, retained in her duchy French methods of government. In Modena, on the other hand, which also was ruled by a Hapsburg prince, the principles of eighteenth-century benevolent despotism were restored. North of the Po and east of the Ticino lay the provinces of Lombardy and Venetia, which had been assigned to Austria by the Congress. The administration was efficient, but it was autocratic. The Metternich system was in full play in these provinces, and its influence was felt in other parts of Italy. Piedmont, with Savoy, in the north-west of Italy, formed with the island of Sardinia the kingdom of Sardinia, and, in course of time, it was upon this kingdom that the hopes of Italian patriots were concentrated. It will be observed that the republics, Lucca, Genoa, and Venice, which had formerly existed in Italy, were not restored. Lucca became a duchy, Genoa was added to Piedmont, and Venice was annexed by Austria as compensation for the loss of the Netherlands.

The problem with which Italian patriots were faced in the nineteenth century was twofold—the establishment of unity and the development of constitutional government in a land which contained many petty states, in all of which absolute government prevailed. The obstacles to Italian unity appeared to be insuperable. It was to be expected that every ruler would oppose any scheme of Italian unity which would involve his own retirement. The governments were mostly corrupt, and the people were ignorant and superstitious; they had not learned the necessity for concerted action, and many of the early risings were merely local and were easily suppressed. But, apart from the antagonism of the lesser rulers and the indifference of the people, the greatest difficulties to be overcome by those who schemed for Italian unity were the power of Austria and the power of the Pope. Austria was immensely strong, and she held that she was entitled, by reason of her possession of Lombardy and Venetia and of her indirect control of the central duchies, to exercise influence over every state in the peninsula. Although his military resources were trivial, the Pope presented, perhaps, an even more formidable obstacle to unity, since any attempt to deprive him of control over the States of the Church might be met by spiritual penalties, and excommunication presented real terrors to an ignorant peasantry. Further, any action against the authority of the Pope would certainly arouse Catholic antagonism in all parts of the world.

The various despotic governments did not allow of any public expression of the discontent which soon became widespread. Newspapers were censored, and, indeed, would have had little influence among an illiterate people. Public meetings were suppressed, and agitation was necessarily carried on in secret. A society known as the Carbonari (charcoal-burners) sprang up in the kingdom of Naples and spread throughout Italy and into some other countries of Europe. It was, of course, secret, and was not well organised. It attracted to itself all the discontented elements in the land, but it had no clear and definite aim, and it was quite unsuitable as an instrument for the attainment of Italian unity and independence. The value of the movement lay in its keeping alive and extending the revolutionary spirit among the common people.

In 1820, following the outbreak in Spain, revolutionary movements occurred in Naples and Piedmont. In both states they were for a time successful, and constitutions were granted. But in both states Austrian troops intervened on behalf of the monarchy, the constitutions were annulled, and despotism was re-established. The failure of these efforts was due not merely to this interference from outside but to lack of sound leadership and support from within. The lesson to be learned from them was that the time was not yet ripe—that the ground must be more thoroughly prepared.

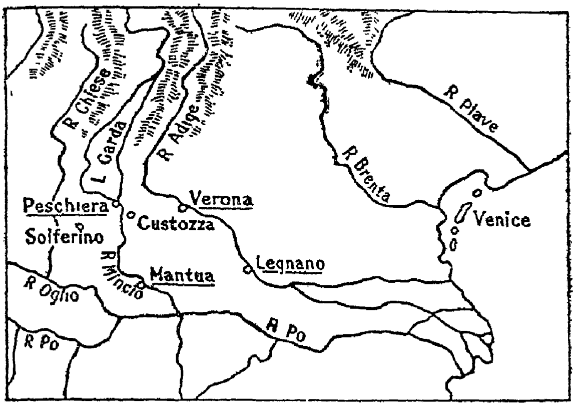
The wave of revolution in Europe in 1830, when Charles X lost the throne of France and Belgium declared herself independent of Holland, encouraged renewed outbreaks in Italy. On this occasion disturbances occurred in central Italy. The rulers of Parma and Modena were expelled, and a considerable rising broke out in the Papal States. The Italians for a time hoped for French support, but Louis Philippe was disinclined to risk his newly won crown in a war with Austria, whose prompt action was again successful in putting down the rebels. It was again made clear that local risings, of indefinite aim and with limited support, would be powerless to achieve Italian unity and independence.

The work of preparing for a more successful effort was undertaken by a number of literary men, of whom Joseph Mazzini was the most famous. It was he who inspired his countrymen with a passionate longing for liberty that in the long run would not be denied. He was no statesman, like Cavour, no general, like Garibaldi; he was the poet, the idealist, the apostle of the movement. Most of his life was spent in exile, but from France and England he by his writings kept alive and fanned the flame which he had started. He founded a new society, Young Italy, secret, indeed, but differing from the Carbonari in that it had definite objects and was not merely destructive of existing institutions. The great aim of Young Italy was the expulsion of the Austrians from the peninsula. This must be done by Italians alone, without foreign aid, and in Mazzini's view it could be done if Italians would only combine to do it. The expulsion of the foreigner would be followed by the collapse of the petty governments which had been kept alive by Austrian support, and the way would be clear for the establishment of an Italian republic.

The republicanism of Mazzini, however, did not commend itself as an ideal to all Italian patriots. Gioberti, a priest, in *The Moral and Civil Primacy of the Italians,* advocated that the Austrians should be expelled and that the existing Italian states should form a federation under the presidency of the Pope—a solution of the problem that would meet some of the difficulties referred to above. Gioberti's idea, however, was open to the objection that of all the existing states in Italy the Pope's possessions were the worst governed. Other writers put forward the view that unity might best be achieved by the annexation of other states to the kingdom of Piedmont (or Sardinia). Though, at first, this idea was not attractive to the more fervid patriots, the course of events in years to come proved its essential soundness.

In 1846, with the election of Cardinal Mastai Ferretti to the Papacy as Pius IX, the Italian Question entered upon a new phase. Pius IX was kindly and well intentioned, qualities which have often been observed in the occupant of the throne of St. Peter, but he was suspected of more than this. He was believed to be well disposed to the ideas of the patriots and to lean definitely towards Liberalism. Metternich regarded a Liberal Pope as an impossibility—but Pius released political prisoners in his dominions and set on foot a number of reforms. Great enthusiasm prevailed among the Romans, who were permitted to enrol themselves in a civic guard. The Pope's example was followed in some other Italian states, notably in Piedmont, where the King, Charles Albert, abolished the censorship of the press in 1847 and proclaimed a constitution in March, 1848, and in Naples, where, in January, 1848, Ferdinand II was forced to grant a constitution.

Early in 1848 the Austrian Government was seriously embarrassed by revolutionary movements in many provinces of the ramshackle Empire. Italian patriots had been greatly enheartened by what had happened since the elevation of Pius IX, and they felt that the moment had come for striking a decisive blow at Austrian power in Italy. In Lombardy the Milanese resolved to abstain from smoking, since the Austrian Government derived a large revenue from the taxation of tobacco. In the tobacco riots which followed, Austrians who were observed smoking were attacked in the streets. Austrian military power, however, was strong enough to restore order in Milan. Venetia, under the leadership of Daniele Manin, declared itself to be a republic once more, and the province of Lombardy was invaded by the Piedmontese, who received assistance from Tuscany, the Papal States, and Naples, states in which absolute government had been, for the time being, overthrown. The conditions seemed to be more favourable for success than ever before. Austrian power was attacked at a moment when the Austrian Government was preoccupied with troubles nearer home. Italian patriotic feeling was at fever heat, and for the first time the rising appeared to be national rather than local in character. The Austrian commander, Radetzky, who was over eighty years of age, was a very able soldier; he was extremely popular with his men, who trusted him completely. He abandoned all military posts of less importance and concentrated his forces on the Quadrilateral, the four fortresses of Legnano, Peschiera, Verona, and Mantua. Here he waited for dissensions to appear in the Italian ranks, and he had not to wait long. The troops from Naples and the central states were withdrawn, and Charles Albert was left to carry on the struggle against Austria alone. He was defeated by Radetzky at Custozza, and the Austrians re-entered Milan and recovered Lombardy.



THE QUADRILATERAL

The vigorous stand made by the old Austrian field-marshal in the Quadrilateral proved to be the critical point in the conflict between revolution and reaction in Europe. By his victory Radetzky not only preserved Austrian power in northern Italy but contributed to the revival of absolute power in most parts of the continent.

Meanwhile, the Pope had become alarmed at the trend of events. He had no wish to be drawn into a war with a state so consistently Catholic as Austria, and he withdrew many of his early concessions. His minister, Rossi, was murdered, and a rising in the city of Rome was so far successful that a republic was established under the temporary rule of a Triumvirate, one member of which was Mazzini. Pius fled to Gaeta, in the kingdom of Naples. In Tuscany, also, a republic was proclaimed, and the Grand Duke fled into Naples, where, by this time, the constitution had been annulled and despotism restored.

From all these events it will be inferred that Italian patriots in 1848 were inspired by hatred of foreign rule rather than by the ideal of national unity. The numerous movements of that year had little or no connection with one another, and if they had all been successful Italy would still have been divided into many small states. Democratic rule might have been established in them, but Italian unity would not have been achieved.

The Austrian victory at Custozza had been followed by an armistice, but early in 1849 hostilities between Piedmont and Austria were renewed. At the Battle of Novara the Piedmontese were utterly defeated, and this last effort of Charles Albert to free Italy from the Austrian yoke failed. The three "republics" were all overthrown in the course of the year 1849. The Grand Duke easily recovered Tuscany. To conciliate Catholic opinion in France the President, Louis Napoleon, sent a French army in April, 1849, to re-establish the Pope in Rome. (A French garrison was retained in Rome and the Patrimony of St. Peter for more than twenty years.) The Austrians recaptured Venice. Austrian power seemed to be more firmly entrenched in the peninsula than ever, and Liberal ideas and movements were strictly suppressed throughout the length and breadth of the country.

Only in Piedmont did the Government form an exception to the despotism prevalent in Italy. After his defeat at Novara Charles Albert abdicated in favour of his son Victor Emmanuel II. The new King maintained the constitution granted by his father. Had he annulled it he would have been granted easy terms of peace by Austria and would have been assured of Austrian support. But in her darkest hour he was faithful to the cause of Italy, and the hopes of the Italian patriots were henceforth concentrated upon him.

In 1852 Count Camillo di Cavour became Prime Minister of Piedmont. He proved to be one of the most astute of European statesmen, and he made it his aim to bring about the unification of Italy under the leadership of the reigning house of Piedmont. In his younger days he had travelled extensively in France and England, and he wished to extend to his own land the political institutions and the industrial and commercial advance made in these two countries. When he became Prime Minister Piedmont was burdened with a heavy debt. Cavour, instead of retrenching public expenditure, spent large sums on public works. Agriculture and industry were stimulated, railways were built, some of the monasteries were suppressed, commercial treaties were negotiated with other countries. A period of material progress followed, and Piedmont was able to bear not only the old financial burden but also the expense of a large and efficient army.

To secure for his country more definite recognition among the powers of Europe, Cavour involved Piedmont in the Crimean War, in which she had no direct interest. A corps of 15,000 men served with credit in the Crimea, and Cavour's real object was attained when he was permitted to attend the Congress which was held at Paris at the end of the war. The Austrians resented Cavour's presence, but he was not merely welcomed but was permitted to bring forward the Italian Question for discussion. Nothing was done, of course; yet Cavour had gained much. Piedmont had gained enormously in prestige. The condition and the future of Italy had become a European and not merely a local question. And Napoleon III, Emperor of the French, had expressed his interest in it.

Napoleon, in fact, had long been interested in Italy. It is said that, as a young man, he had been one of the Carbonari. As Emperor of the French he was thought to be favourable to the principle of nationality—that people of one race, language, and religion ought to be under one Government. As the successor of Napoleon I he might well be desirous of repeating his uncle's brilliant achievements against the Austrians in the Lombard plain. He well understood the passion of the French for *la gloire*, and realised that a successful war, and possibly an extension of territory, would tend to strengthen his throne. An attempt upon his life in January, 1858, by Count Orsini, an Italian, might have alienated his sympathies, but in fact did not. It may even have added to other motives for an alliance with the Italians that of fear of assassination.

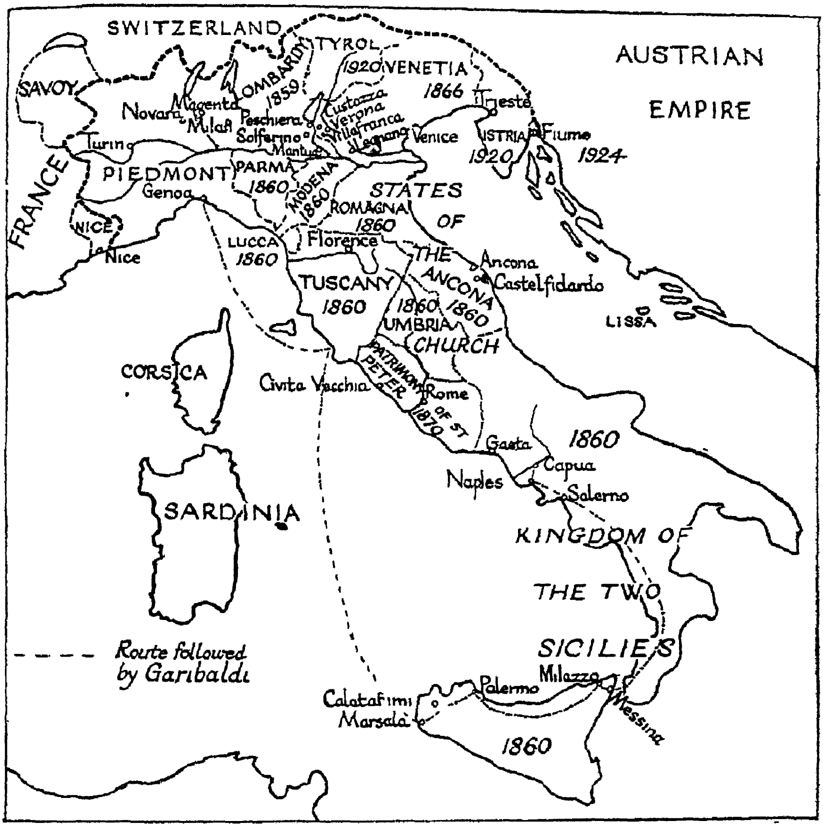
A few months after the Orsini outrage Cavour met the Emperor secretly at Plombières, in the Vosges, and although no formal treaty was drawn up it was arranged that France should aid Piedmont in a future war with Austria if the latter could be made to appear to be the aggressor. The Austrians were to be expelled from Italy, and Lombardy and Venetia, with the central duchies and part of the Papal States, were to be added to Piedmont, thus forming a kingdom of Northern Italy. A kingdom of Central Italy was to consist of Tuscany and the remainder of the Papal States, with the exception of Rome and its surroundings, which were to remain under direct papal rule. The Pope was to be compensated for his losses by becoming President of an Italian Confederation comprising the four kingdoms of Northern Italy, Central Italy, Naples, and Rome. In return for his aid Napoleon was to receive the provinces of Savoy and Nice.

Neither of these astute diplomats was quite frank with the other. It is certain that Cavour would not regard the creation of a kingdom in northern Italy as a final solution of the Italian problem. It would be to him only a stage in the achievement of complete Italian unity. It is at least possible that Napoleon, for his part, was aspiring to extend his power over the peninsula and to substitute French for Austrian domination over the unhappy land. The history of Italy for centuries past had provided examples of the unwisdom of calling in the French. By asking for Napoleon's aid Cavour might be unchaining a power that he would be utterly unable to control. But he resolved to take the risk.

His immediate problem was to bring about war in such a way that Austria would appear to be the aggressor. By increasing the Piedmontese forces and concentrating troops near the border of Lombardy he succeeded in arousing Austrian apprehensions. The British Government offered its mediation to prevent war, and for a time it seemed that the opportunity would pass. But, to Cavour's delight, Austria presented an ultimatum bidding Piedmont disarm. Cavour refused, and Austria declared war. Piedmont was regarded by other nations as merely defending herself from an unprovoked attack.

The effective fighting was limited to the month of June, 1859. Two battles, at Magenta and at Solferino, were fought, and both were won by the French and Piedmontese. Lombardy was conquered, and it seemed that Venetia might have been taken with ease. But Napoleon suddenly stopped, and, in a personal interview with the Austrian Emperor, Francis

Joseph, at Villafranca, agreed upon terms which were afterwards embodied in a formal treaty of peace at Zürich. Lombardy was to be ceded to Piedmont, but Venetia was to remain Austrian. The rulers of the central Italian duchies, who had fled from their domains after the Battle of Magenta, were to be restored.


SWITZERLAND
TYROL
LOMBARDY
1859
1920 VENETIA
1866
AUSTRIAN
EMPIRE
SAVOY
Novara
Magenta
Milan
Peschiera
Custozza
Verona
Villafranca
Solferino
Mantua
Legnano
Venice
Trieste
ISTRIA
1920
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Turin
PIEDMONT
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MODENA
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ROMAGNA
1860
Florence
LUCCA
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TUSCANY
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Castelfidardo
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UMBRIA
CHURCH
LISSA
CORSICA
Civita Vecchia
PATRIMONY OF ST PETER
1870
Rome
Gaeta
1860
Capua
Naples
Salerno
SARDINIA
KINGDOM OF
THE TWO
SICILIES
- - - - Route followed by Garibaldi
Milazzo
Palermo
Calatafimi
Marsala
Messina
1860

The Unification of Italy

The reason for Napoleon's change of front lay in the fact that, on this as on other occasions in his reign, he had not thought out the full effects of his policy. He was alarmed by the occurrence of popular risings in all parts of Italy, and he feared that a continuance of the campaign would result in the establishment of a kingdom of Italy and not of a confederation under the Pope. His intervention, therefore, would, against his will, have had the effect of destroying instead of augmenting papal power. He would have called into existence a first-rank European power close to his own borders. He would have alienated Catholic opinion in France, and he would have weakened his own position as Emperor. Moreover, he was horrified at the carnage at the Battle of Solferino, and he feared that Austria was still capable of making a stand at the Quadrilateral, while it was possible that Prussia might seize the opportunity of attacking France from the Rhineland.

Victor Emmanuel was not even consulted about the agreement at Villafranca, and Cavour, in despair at the failure of his schemes, urged the King to continue the fight alone. Victor Emmanuel wisely refused, and Cavour resigned his office, which, however, he resumed a few months later. The King was unwilling to throw away the solid gains of the campaign. Lombardy was added to his kingdom, and Napoleon recognised that, through the incomplete fulfilment of the arrangements made at Plombières, he had not earned the right to ask for Savoy and Nice.

The agreement made at Villafranca with regard to the central Italian duchies was never carried out. These provinces, Modena, Parma, Tuscany, and Romagna, refused to receive their rulers back. Revolutionary Assemblies demanded union with Piedmont, and it became clear that the exiled dukes could be restored only by force. Napoleon was unwilling to sanction the employment of Austrian troops for this purpose, since such action would tend to the re-establishment of that Austrian domination in Italy which he had done so much to destroy. A formal declaration by Great Britain in favour of permitting the duchies to decide their own destiny and, if they wished, to join with Piedmont, did much to settle the question. Cavour, now in office again, negotiated with Napoleon, who agreed to their annexation by Piedmont in return for the cession of Savoy and Nice to France. Plebiscites in the central states in 1860 resulted, by almost unanimous votes, in favour of union with Piedmont. A similar result attended the plebiscites in Savoy and Nice with regard to annexation of France.

Cavour's policy with regard to Savoy and Nice was very much criticised, but it is clear that in no other way could central Italy have been gained. And, despite the bitter cry of Garibaldi, "You have made me an alien in the land of my birth," it must be admitted that the peoples of these provinces were, in race and language, far more French than Italian, and the cession was to the ultimate advantage of the kingdom of Italy.

Much had been done towards the achievement of Italian patriotic ideals in 1859 and 1860; much more remained to be done. Venetia was still Austrian, the Papal States remained under papal rule (though Romagna was lost), and the kingdom of the Two Sicilies still maintained its separate existence. In 1860, however, a revolt against the rule of Francis II of Naples broke out in the island of Sicily. Garibaldi, an Italian born at Nice, had in his younger days taken part in most of the efforts which had been made to free his country. He had been imprisoned and condemned to death; he had escaped and been exiled; he had lived a life of adventure in various parts of the world and had gained such a reputation for courage, endurance, resourcefulness, and vigour that Italians were ready to follow him on any adventure, however risky. He decided to go to the aid of the Sicilians, and with only 1,150 men (popularly known as "The Thousand") he sailed from Genoa and landed in Sicily. The enterprise seemed hopeless; it was not merely hardy, but foolhardy. Against overwhelming odds it was successful, and within a few weeks, after hard fighting, Garibaldi was master of the island (except the citadel of Messina), which he proclaimed as passing under the sovereignty of Victor Emmanuel.

He now crossed to the mainland. The King of Naples had an army of 100,000 men, but Garibaldi's reputation by this time was such that he met with only insignificant opposition. The Neapolitan troops fled, or joined his standard, and he entered the city of Naples the day after Francis II fled from it.

Garibaldi now contemplated an attack upon Rome. Cavour, who had been watching his progress with gratification, was alarmed, for the city of Rome contained a French garrison, and an attack would bring about the intervention of Napoleon III and the possible loss of all that had been gained. But Cavour did not think that Napoleon would object equally to the annexation of the Papal States, upon which he launched an attack. The Piedmontese defeated the Pope's troops at Castelfidardo, and the victorious army marched southward into the kingdom of Naples in order to join with the forces of Garibaldi. Plebiscites were taken in the conquered regions, and by overwhelming majorities the people expressed their wish to be joined to Piedmont. Francis II held out for a time at Gaeta, but the fortress surrendered in February, 1861. The citadel of Messina, in Sicily, held out a few weeks longer, but with its surrender all Italy, except Venetia, the Patrimony of St. Peter, and the city of Rome, was united. In March, 1861, Victor Emmanuel was proclaimed King of Italy.

Cavour did not live to see the completion of his work, for he died in June, 1861. Some years were to elapse before Italian unity was complete. An untimely attack upon Venetia might have resulted in further disasters at the hands of the Austrians, while any attempt to wrest Rome from the Pope would have led to conflict with Napoleon. But within the next ten years opportunities arose for dealing with both these questions. In 1866, when Bismarck was planning his attack upon Austria, he made a treaty with Italy, and as a result the Italians made war upon the Austrians. They were defeated in the actual fighting, but the necessity of retaining large bodies of Austrian troops in Venetia contributed to the Prussian victory at Sadowa, and in the peace which followed Venetia was ceded to Italy. In 1867 the French garrison was moved from Rome to Civita Vecchia, a small town in the Patrimony, and in August, 1870, it was withdrawn altogether. Victor Emmanuel seized the opportunity and, despite some resistance from papal troops, entered the city, which became his capital. Pius IX withdrew into the Vatican, in permanent protest against his despoilment. But, except for certain outlying regions which were inhabited partly by Italians and partly by people of other races, regions known as "Italia Irredenta," the kingdom of Italy was complete.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE SECOND REPUBLIC AND THE SECOND EMPIRE IN FRANCE

THE French Revolution of 1789 had been directed against the absolute monarchy of the *ancien régime*, that of 1830 against the efforts of the Ultra-Royalists to recover aristocratic privilege and to obtain political power. The Revolution of 1848 aimed at the overthrow of bourgeois rule and its replacement by a democratic Government based on universal suffrage. The republic which was then established lasted nearly five years.

For the first few weeks of its existence the Second Republic was administered by a Provisional Government, which held office until a National Constituent Assembly could be elected. In the Provisional Government were two elements. The larger, the Republican, was concerned merely with the abolition of the monarchy and the substitution for it of a republic. The other group consisted of Socialists, of whom the most famous was Louis Blanc, and it aimed at a complete reconstruction of society with a view to improving the condition of the working classes. The Socialists contended that all men had a "right to work," and they advocated the establishment of co-operative workshops, for which the state should provide the capital, but of which the control was to be in the hands of the workmen themselves. Friction soon developed between Republicans and Socialists, and, as the press censorship had been abolished, newspapers and pamphlets put forward the views of these and other groups.

In order to deal with the prevalent social distress the Government opened National Workshops, at which work was provided for all who wanted it. The work was generally unproductive and unsuitable, and the number of applicants rapidly increased. The scheme became unpopular, and the opponents of Louis Blanc pointed to it as evidence of the foolishness of his ideas. Yet it was not his scheme. In the co-operative workshops which he proposed, every man would have been employed on his own trade; the National Workshops were mere relief works in which all, skilled and unskilled alike, were set to perform rough and unnecessary tasks.

The National Constituent Assembly replaced the Provisional Government in May, 1848. Socialist measures had already ceased to be attractive, and the Assembly contained a large majority of moderate Republicans. It resolved to close the National Workshops, and the disappointed workmen in Paris revolted against the Government. Street fighting lasted for several days, and some thousands of people were killed before order was restored.

The Assembly then proceeded to draw up a constitution. It was decided that the republic should be governed by a President elected for a period of four years; he was to be disqualified, however, for immediate re-election at the close of his term of office. The Legislative Assembly was to consist of one Chamber only, and both President and Chamber were to be chosen by universal suffrage. Before the end of the year Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, nephew of Napoleon I, was chosen President, and in 1849 a Legislative Assembly which contained a majority of Monarchists was elected. The republic appeared already to be doomed. The events of the year had led many Frenchmen to distrust Socialist and Republican ideas, and their thoughts were already turning back to monarchy.

Louis Napoleon intended to use his position as a stepping-stone to the re-establishment of the Empire. The sedulous cultivation of the Napoleonic legend, already referred to, favoured his plans. During his presidency he took measures against the Socialists and Republicans, some of whom were imprisoned on various pretexts. The electoral law was revised in such a way as to deprive a large number of the poorer electors of their votes. Louis Napoleon demanded of the Assembly that it should revise the constitution in order that his term of office might be extended, and upon its refusal he prepared for the *coup d'état*.

On 2nd December, 1851, the forty-sixth anniversary of the Battle of Austerlitz, a large number of Louis Napoleon's political opponents were arrested, and the Assembly was dissolved. The President announced to the Parisians his intention of "saving France from its enemies," and by prompt action he crushed those who tried to arouse any opposition. During the next few days the work of repression was extended to the provinces, where many thousands of arrests were made.

The people of France were then invited to empower Louis Napoleon to remodel the constitution, and by 7,500,000 to 600,000 they approved the proposal. The republic continued to exist in name for another year, but Louis Napoleon was in effect an absolute monarch. By an even larger majority than before, France approved the final change, and on 2nd December, 1852, Louis Napoleon was proclaimed Emperor, with the title of Napoleon III. (The Imperialists regarded the first Napoleon's son as Napoleon II, though he had never reigned.)

The new Emperor held that the work of his uncle, Napoleon I, had been incomplete. It had been his aim to retain all that was valuable in the first French Revolution, and at the same time to establish the Government of France upon firm and sound foundations, and for this purpose despotic power was necessary. This having been accomplished, it had been the intention of Napoleon I to restore liberty to the French people, but the opposition of other powers had involved him in ceaseless warfare and had prevented the completion of his work. What Napoleon I had left unfinished was now to be undertaken by Napoleon III. The state had been disturbed by the many changes of government since 1815, and it was necessary for France again to surrender her liberty in the interests of stability. When that was attained, liberty might gradually be restored.

The constitution of the Second Empire was similar in many ways to that of the Consulate and the First Empire. All power was concentrated in the hands of the Emperor. A Legislative Chamber was elected by universal suffrage, but it had no real authority. It sat only for three months in the year, it met frequently in secret, and it could not propose legislation but could vote only on matters prepared for its consideration by the Council of State, a body appointed by the Emperor. The Senate was to guard and interpret the constitution, but, as it consisted of high officials of the state nominated by the Emperor, its decisions were likely to be in accordance with his wishes. Ministers were appointed by, and could be removed only by, the Emperor, whose powers were, in fact, unlimited in every direction. Public meetings might be forbidden, and a close censorship of the press was set up.

The reign of Napoleon III was a period of material prosperity for France. The banking system of the country was extended, and credit was made available both for agriculture and for industrial undertakings. Communications were improved; railways and canals were constructed, steamship lines were established, and a telegraph service was set up. And, while the business interests of the country were fostered, the poor were not forgotten. Hospitals, asylums, and almshouses came into existence. The condition of the housing of the working classes was improved. Many of the most important streets and boulevards of Paris were reconstructed, and it became a magnificent city. In 1855 a Grand International Exhibition was held in Paris, one of the effects of which was to impress the people of other lands with the wealth and the progress of France. This material prosperity went far to reconcile the French to the loss of their political liberty.

Napoleon believed in free trade, and, though he made no attempt to bring about in France a tariff revolution comparable to that which had taken place between 1842 and 1860 in Great Britain, he concluded a commercial treaty with this country in 1860. Import duties were substantially reduced, and the Emperor's policy in this respect was disliked by merchants and manufacturers, who hitherto had been supporters of the Imperial *régime*.

A consideration of the reign of Napoleon III discloses no clear and consistent foreign policy. If, upon becoming Emperor, he had embarked upon wars of conquest he would have drawn upon himself the antagonism of the rest of Europe. Even before he assumed the Imperial title he declared his attachment to a policy of peace, and it is likely that this pronouncement was meant as much for foreign as for French ears. Yet, if liberty was to be curtailed, it was necessary to satisfy the French desire for glory and conquest. In the pursuit of this end Napoleon proved to be irresolute and incapable. He was inferior to Napoleon I in transforming the French army into a fighting machine second to none in Europe, and in his diplomacy he failed to realise and to take advantage of the aims and opinions of the statesmen and peoples of other countries of Europe.

Between 1854 and 1856 France was involved in the Crimean War. The causes of this struggle, which might have been avoided, are described elsewhere. It may be observed, however, that Napoleon would natually regard a successful war against Russia as a means of strengthening his throne. Many

Frenchmen who took part in the *débâcle* of 1812 were still alive, and nothing would give them greater gratification than the humiliation of Russia. France was successful in the war, although Russia was not really weakened, and the holding of the Peace Congress at Paris in 1856 further added to the Emperor's prestige.

In his next venture Napoleon was less fortunate. He was said to have been, in his youth, a member of the Carbonari, the Italian secret society whose aims included the expulsion of the Austrians from North Italy and the establishment of a single Italian state. The Italians hoped for much from Napoleon, whose attention was drawn seriously to the Italian Question during and after the Congress of Paris. But his hesitation caused some disappointment, and in 1858 an attempt was made upon his life by Count Orsini. He decided, at length, to give assistance to the Piedmontese in their forthcoming struggle with Austria, and in no other adventure of his reign did he show less foresight and less appreciation of the issues involved. Fired by a desire to destroy the political system of Italy which was established at Vienna upon the fall of Napoleon I, he concluded an alliance with Cavour at Plombières. But he demanded the cession of Savoy and Nice as the price of his help, and he thus forfeited all claim to Italian gratitude for his assistance; it was to be bought and paid for by them. He defeated the Austrians in 1859, and then realised that a policy which would lead to Italian unification would meet with uncompromising opposition from the Pope. The Catholic party in France was uneasy and soon became definitely hostile to him. He made a premature peace with the Austrians at Villafranca and withdrew from Italy. By pursuing a course of action the consequences of which he had not thought out beforehand he incurred the enmity of Austria and the resentment of the Italians. He was faced henceforth with the antagonism of the French Catholics, although he had, since 1849, maintained a French garrison at Rome to defend the Pope, and his personal reputation for astuteness was impaired. He did not at first press his claim to Savoy and Nice, since his part of the bargain with Cavour had not been completely fulfilled, but he refused to sanction the union of the central Italian duchies with Piedmont until the provinces were ceded to him. His exaction of full payment for services only partially rendered did not enhance his prestige.

In the second half of his reign Napoleon, faced with the loss of the support of those interests on which hitherto he had relied, turned to their opponents. He bethought himself of his early promises, and began the work of "crowning order with liberty." The "Liberal Empire" lasted ten years, and from time to time concessions were made in the direction of freedom. The Legislature was given fuller, if still limited, powers, and the publication of its proceedings was authorised. Press restrictions were, in course of time, diminished, and public meetings were permitted under certain conditions.

The effect of these changes was not what Napoleon hoped for. Interest in politics revived, but the Emperor failed to gain support from men of Liberal views. They accepted each concession as an indication of Napoleon's weakness, to be used as a means of gaining others. The Republican party revived, and it secured an appreciable representation in the Legislative Chamber.

In 1861 Napoleon became involved in a venture even more disastrous to his reputation than his Italian activities had been. Internal troubles in Mexico, and her refusal to pay interest on her debt to Europeans, had led to intervention by Great Britain, France, and Spain. These powers agreed, by the Treaty of London, 1861, to compel Mexico to meet her financial obligations and to refrain from molesting Europeans resident within her borders. A joint expedition was sent out, but Great Britain and Spain soon withdrew. Napoleon, however, intended to overthrow the republic and to establish a monarchy in Mexico. He hoped by this means to recover the support of the Catholic party in France, since the Mexican republic was not on good terms with the Church. Further, he contemplated the construction of a Panama Canal which, built by French engineers with French capital, could not fail to be to the economic advantage of France.

Fighting took place between French and Mexicans, and, although the latter were by no means conquered, the party opposed to President Juarez and in alliance with the French offered the crown of a Mexican Empire to Maximilian, brother of the Austrian Emperor, Francis Joseph. Napoleon promised to support him, and he arrived in his new realm in 1864.

From the first Maximilian's position was hopeless. The great majority of the Mexican people supported Juarez, and guerilla fighting was carried on throughout Maximilian's short reign. At the close of the American Civil War in 1865 the United States threatened to intervene, and Napoleon, unwilling to be embroiled with the republic, withdrew his troops. The end soon came. In 1867 Maximilian was captured by the Mexicans and shot.

Napoleon's reputation suffered severely from this adventure. He had wasted men and money, he had quailed before the threats of a republic, he had deserted a man whom he had promised to support. His preoccupation in the New World had prevented him for a time from taking a prominent part in European affairs. While Denmark and Austria were being humiliated by Prussia, Napoleon had been no more than a spectator of events.

Opposition to the Empire increased. Republican feeling developed, and, though it was not yet strong enough to strike, Napoleon felt that it must be checked, either by a return to the absolutism of the beginning of the reign or by further concessions. He decided upon the latter course, and proclaimed an entirely new constitution, under which France would indeed remain an Empire, but the Legislature would enjoy real power and ministers would be responsible to it, a system not far removed from that of Great Britain. It was submitted to a plebiscite early in 1870 and was accepted by the people by a vote of seven and a half millions to one and a half millions. The Empire, apparently, was saved.

Napoleon missed a great opportunity of extending French influence in 1866. He hoped, by remaining neutral during the Austro-Prussian War, to win for France the left bank of the Rhine and, possibly, some territory in South Germany. In the event of a protracted war between Austria and Prussia he proposed to intervene as arbitrator, to his own advantage. Had he allied with Austria he might have attacked the Prussian flank, and the future of both Germany and France might have been different. But the war was short and decisive, and Napoleon's opportunity passed.

Too late, he sought to obtain by diplomacy what he might have gained by war. But the crisis for Prussia was past, and Bismarck was the last man to yield German territory to France in gratitude for French neutrality in the past. Negotiations were protracted, and at different times Napoleon asked for the cession of Belgium, of Luxemburg, and of the Palatinate, on the upper Rhine. Bismarck, by making this last demand known to the statesmen of South Germany, secured their adhesion to Prussia, and, by revealing to the British Government Napoleon's proposal to annex Belgium, aroused British suspicion of the Emperor's designs. France was thus left without an ally, and Bismarck determined upon war with her as a means of crowning his plans for the establishment of a German Empire. The story of the Franco-Prussian War is related elsewhere. Within little more than a month from its outbreak Napoleon was a prisoner of war, and the Second French Empire collapsed.

CHAPTER XIX

GERMAN UNITY

THE efforts of German patriots to bring about the formation of a strong and united Germany by means of the Frankfort Parliament failed, and the Prussian attempt to form a voluntary union was equally unsuccessful. The Frankfort delegates had been unable to seize the favourable moment of Austrian and Prussian weakness, and they had not realised that any constitution they drew up must be backed by force. The Prussian effort had collapsed before the strength of Austrian opposition, and Austria recovered her old ascendancy over the Confederation.

Yet, though nothing positive was gained in 1848 and 1849, lessons might be learned from the failure of the movement. It was clear that Austria would never be reconciled to the idea of a united Germany. Her own position would be impossible; if the whole of her dominions were included, the new state would not be German; if the whole were excluded, she would lose influence where she had long been paramount; and if the German part were admitted, but not the remainder, her Empire would be split and would probably collapse altogether. Austria was bound to keep Germany weak and disunited.

It was equally clear, from the failure at Frankfort, that the unity of Germany could never be achieved by constitutional means. There were too many interests involved, too many princes who would be against a movement which would deprive them of power. Democrats were not always practical men; any further attempt to frame a constitution in an elected Assembly was likely to be attended by faults which had already caused failure—too much talk of abstract principles and too little attention to the circumstances of the time.

The essentials of success in the future were the building up of a force strong enough to impose unity on the country, and the use of that force at the proper time to expel Austria from Germany and to crush all lesser states which resisted the movement. This was what Bismarck meant by the phrase which he used in 1863 and which will ever be remembered as the expression of his policy: "Not by speeches and majority votes . . . but by *blood and iron.*" No Frankfort Parliament could build up such a force; it could be looked for in only one direction. German unity must wait until Prussia was ready to achieve it.

For some years after the submission at Olmütz Prussia was not ready even to begin her preparation. Frederick William IV had granted a constitution to his people, and he had scruples about suppressing it. But Prussia was by no means free even under her constitution, and the King's rule was almost as absolute as had been that of his predecessors. Opponents of the Government were imprisoned without trial, the press was again restricted, and public meetings were often forbidden. By corrupt means the Assembly was controlled by the Government, which it rarely ventured to criticise. At the same time a good deal of material progress was made. Towns developed, and population increased. Factories were built, and machine production was introduced. Transport facilities were extended by the construction of railways. The Industrial Revolution, which began in Great Britain in the reign of George III and in France in the time of Louis Philippe, now developed in Prussia and, indeed, throughout Germany, where the material wealth of the country enormously increased.

The achievement of German unity became possible when Prussia was fortunate enough to possess, at the same time, a king and a statesman who understood the essentials of the problem as set forth above. In 1857 Frederick William IV became mentally incapable of ruling, and in the following year his brother William was appointed regent, in which capacity he carried on the Government until the King's death in 1861. The regent then became King as William I.

The new King was already an elderly man who had begun his military career by fighting in the War of Liberation and had been a soldier ever since. He was competent in his profession, and had long been dissatisfied on account of the inadequacy of the Prussian army. By law, every able-bodied male Prussian was bound to serve in the army for three years, after which period he was passed into the reserve. But it was customary to enrol only 40,000 recruits every year, and as the Prussian population had increased substantially in the first half of the century the total of possible recruits was much in excess of this number. Many thousands of youths escaped military service altogether, and many more were required to serve for only two years. William I appointed Von Roon as Minister of War to reorganise and strengthen the army. A plan was evolved for the establishment of thirty-nine new regiments of infantry and ten of cavalry, and it was resolved henceforth to enforce strictly the obligation to serve. The effect of the proposals would be to double the effective strength of the Prussian army in time of war.

The plan involved additional expenditure, which the King asked the Prussian Assembly (the Landtag) to sanction. Much criticism, however, was directed against it by the members, who hitherto had not opposed the Government. The additional cost was voted in 1861 for one year only; in 1862 it was refused entirely, and Prussia became involved in a first-class constitutional crisis.

Several courses were open to the King. He might submit to the Landtag and abandon his army reforms, but he regarded them as vital to the future of Prussia and would not consider such a course for a moment. He might use the army to abolish the constitution and disperse the Landtag, but, like his brother, he hesitated to break the oath to support it which he had sworn at his accession. He might abdicate, and leave the problem to his successor, and he seriously contemplated doing this. He drew up an act of abdication, but, before issuing it, he sent for Otto von Bismarck and asked his advice.

Bismarck was the right man. Of noble birth, he was throughout his life a strenuous upholder of the principle of monarchical government and an opponent of democracy. Of great ability, he was utterly unscrupulous in his methods, and he did not hesitate to deceive others when deceit would serve his purpose. He was a member of the Prussian United Diet of 1847 and stoutly opposed the demand for a constitution. He held that Prussia had become great through her kings, and not her people, and he approved of the action of Frederick William in rejecting the Frankfort offer of an Imperial crown. In 1851 he became the Prussian representative in the restored Diet of the German Confederation. He soon came to the conclusion that Austria was the enemy of Prussia in Germany and that, unless Prussia was to be definitely subjugated by Austria, sooner or later she must fight to expel Austria from the

Confederation. He was, therefore, entirely in sympathy with the royal views on army reform.

Bismarck had an interview with the King, and an alliance was formed between them which lasted till William's death in 1888. The act of abdication was torn up, and Bismarck became President of the Council of Ministers. His policy with regard to the constitutional crisis was simple. He disregarded it. Year after year the Landtag refused to grant money for the maintenance of the army, and year after year taxes were collected and the money was spent as though it had been granted in constitutional fashion.

The Prussian army was thus reformed and enlarged, and, organised by Von Roon and directed by Von Moltke, it became in a few years the most efficient and most formidable engine of war in Europe. Bismarck's intention was to use it for the achievement of German unity—not, however, by the absorption of Prussia in Germany, as Piedmont had been merged in Italy, but by the domination of Germany by Prussia. The work was accomplished in three wars—against Denmark in 1864, against Austria in 1866, and against France in 1870.

The Danish war was undertaken, in conjunction with Austria, mainly because Bismarck saw that the questions involved might afterwards give rise to a quarrel between Prussia and Austria. Further, he was not averse to the Prussian army being engaged in a trial war—in which the issue could hardly be in doubt and in which the new organisation could be tested—before the outbreak of the more serious conflicts which he contemplated with Austria and France. The points at issue with Denmark were complicated, but the war was by no means inevitable, for neither the dignity nor the honour nor yet the safety of Germany was involved, and the dispute might, like many others in the course of the century, have been settled by a conference of the powers if Bismarck had desired a peaceful settlement.

Schleswig and Holstein were two duchies which were not part of Denmark but were under the rule of the King of Denmark as Duke. Holstein, but not Schleswig, was a member of the German Confederation, and the King of Denmark, as its Duke, was represented in the Diet. Its population was almost entirely German, and the Germans predominated in Schleswig, though in this province there was a large minority of Danes. The policy of Danish kings was to incorporate the duchies in the kingdom of Denmark, and this was supported by the Danes of Schleswig, but it was resented by the German element in both provinces, which desired to see Schleswig as well as Holstein included in the German Confederation.

The question was complicated by a disputed succession. Some years earlier the Duke of Augustenburg had claimed to rule over the duchies, but he had been induced to renounce his claim, and by the Treaty of London, 1852, to which most of the powers of Europe assented, the right of the King of Denmark over the duchies was recognised, provided that they were not incorporated in Denmark and were given independent Assemblies. Two events in 1863 brought matters to a head. A new constitution was proclaimed, annexing Schleswig to Denmark and granting self-government to Holstein; and a new Duke of Augustenburg, announcing that he did not intend to be bound by his father's renunciation, put forward a claim to the duchies.

Opinion in Germany ran strongly against Denmark, and the Diet declared in favour of the Duke of Augustenburg and sent an army into Holstein. But Bismarck refused to support the Diet and invited Austria to co-operate with Prussia in upholding the Treaty of London. Austria could hardly, without loss of prestige, leave the settlement of the question to Prussia, and rather unwillingly she joined in. Bismarck demanded of the Danes the withdrawal of the new constitution within forty-eight hours, which was impossible, since it could be done only by the Danish Parliament, which was not sitting at the time. War was declared in February, 1864, and resulted in an easy victory for the German powers. By the Treaty of Vienna Denmark was forced to renounce her claim to the two duchies.

Austria was now disposed to place the Duke of Augustenburg over them, but Bismarck suggested such terms that the Duke declined the sovereignty. War between Prussia and Austria threatened, but neither power was quite ready, and by the Convention of Gastein, 1865, an agreement was patched up. The joint responsibility of the two powers for the preservation of order was maintained in principle, but as a working arrangement Prussia was to rule Schleswig and Austria Holstein.

Bismarck now prepared for the forthcoming war with Austria. He was already sure of the friendly neutrality of Russia, whom he had assisted at the time of the Polish revolt of 1863. He was more anxious about the attitude of France. He had an interview with Napoleon III at Biarritz in October, 1865, and a secret understanding was reached. The Biarritz meeting was without witnesses, and no certain knowledge of what took place exists, but it seems that Napoleon, who was at this time involved in the affairs of Mexico, undertook to remain neutral if a war occurred between Prussia and Austria. He probably understood that, in the event of changes being made in the German Confederation, he would be allowed to annex either Belgium or certain Rhenish territories. That Bismarck definitely promised this is unlikely, but Napoleon inferred from his attitude that he was willing to sanction this extension of French territory at the expense of Germany. Bismarck did not undeceive Napoleon, and took full advantage of the misunderstanding. Neither Bismarck nor Napoleon was altogether frank with the other. Napoleon probably hoped that the war would be sufficiently prolonged for him to offer to mediate, to his own advantage and the enhancement of his prestige. And events were to prove to Napoleon that Bismarck was the last man to consent to be bound by a vague understanding. Napoleon, in fact, was outwitted by a statesman far more subtle than himself.

Bismarck turned to Italy, which was still without the province of Venetia. In April, 1866, by a secret treaty, Italy undertook to co-operate with Prussia in a war against Austria, and in return she expected to receive Venetia at the peace.

Bismarck had secured the alliance or neutrality of other powers and now required only a pretext for war with Austria. He complained of agitation which was being carried on in Holstein in favour of the Duke of Augustenburg. Austria retorted that the administration of Holstein was a matter which concerned her only, and on 1st June, 1866, she brought the question of Schleswig and Holstein before the Diet. Bismarck declared that this was a breach of the Convention of Gastein, which, therefore, was void, and full responsibility for both duchies was resumed by Prussia. Prussian troops marched into Holstein, and Austria proposed in the Diet that the forces of the Confederation should be sent against Prussia. The Prussian representative announced that every vote for the motion would be treated by his Government as a declaration of war. The motion was carried on 14th June, and Prussia declared the German Confederation dissolved and began the war on 16th June.

A few minor states supported Prussia, but all the greater states of the Confederation sided with Austria. But the Prussian armies were ready, and immediately invaded the enemy states. Five days after the momentous decision at Frankfort the capitals of Hanover, Saxony, and Hesse-Cassel were in Prussian hands, and before the end of June Prussia was supreme throughout North Germany. The invasion of Bohemia was now undertaken by two Prussian armies. The Austrian commander, Benedek, hoped to beat Prince Frederick Charles with the army from Saxony before he could be joined by the Crown Prince with the army from Silesia. But Frederick Charles moved rapidly and drove the Austrians back to Königgrätz. Here the decisive battle (often called the Battle of Sadowa) took place on 3rd July. The Prussian troops were armed with a breech-loading rifle which could be fired four or five times while the Austrian weapon was being fired once. The Austrians were superior, however, in artillery, and for some time the result was in doubt, until the arrival of the Crown Prince decided the issue. The Austrian army was so badly beaten that the war was practically over.

The Italians, true to their undertaking, had invaded Venetia, but they were defeated at Custozza, and their fleet was beaten by the Austrians in the Adriatic near the island of Lissa. Nevertheless, by detaining a large Austrian army in Venetia they had contributed to the Prussian victory at Sadowa.

The causes of the Prussian victory were to be found in the preparedness of the Prussian army, which was the result of the work of Von Roon, and in the incomparable strategy of Von Moltke. The Austrian army was inferior in many respects, and the Austrian Government now experienced the effects of its own internal policy. It had been found necessary to divide Austrian forces in order to defend Venetia, while Magyars, Croats, and Czechs were sullen and discontented and might become dangerous.

The remaining enemies of Prussia in South Germany—Bavaria, Baden, and Würtemberg—were easily beaten. Napoleon III, however, was astonished at the rapidity of the Prussian victory, and he offered to mediate. Bismarck felt that Prussia was not yet strong enough to snub the French Emperor, and he hastened on negotiations for peace.

Preliminaries were agreed upon at Nikolsburg in July, and the definite Treaty of Prague was concluded in August. Venetia was to be yielded to Italy, but no territory was claimed by Prussia, and Austria was called upon to pay only a small indemnity. But the German Confederation was to cease to exist and was to be replaced by a new organisation, the North German Confederation, under Prussian leadership; this was to consist of all German states north of the river Main, and from it Austria was to be excluded. The South German states were, for the present, left to themselves. Within the new Confederation Prussia annexed Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, and Schleswig-Holstein, and the Prussian kingdom attained a territorial unity, extending from the Rhine to Poland, that it had never hitherto known.

Bismarck was criticised on account of the moderation of the terms granted to Austria, but he had a reason for the course he followed. His object in bringing about the war was the exclusion of Austria from the German Confederation, and this had been attained. If he had attempted more, by unnecessarily humiliating and weakening Austria, European intervention might have followed, and Prussia might have lost what she had gained. Such intervention was especially to be feared from Napoleon, and Bismarck realised that a war with France would be necessary before the work of Prussianising Germany could be completed. In that war Bismarck hoped for at least the neutrality of Austria, and by granting her moderate terms he made it unlikely that she would go to the assistance, in her hour of trouble, of France, who had beaten her in 1859 and who had not aided her in 1866.

Despite the moderation of the terms imposed on Austria, Prussian territory, power, and prestige had been enormously enhanced, and the wisdom of Bismarck's policy was now fully recognised. In 1867 the Prussian Landtag passed an Act of Indemnity in respect of the illegal levying of taxes during the previous five years, and the constitutional struggle ended with the complete triumph of the minister.

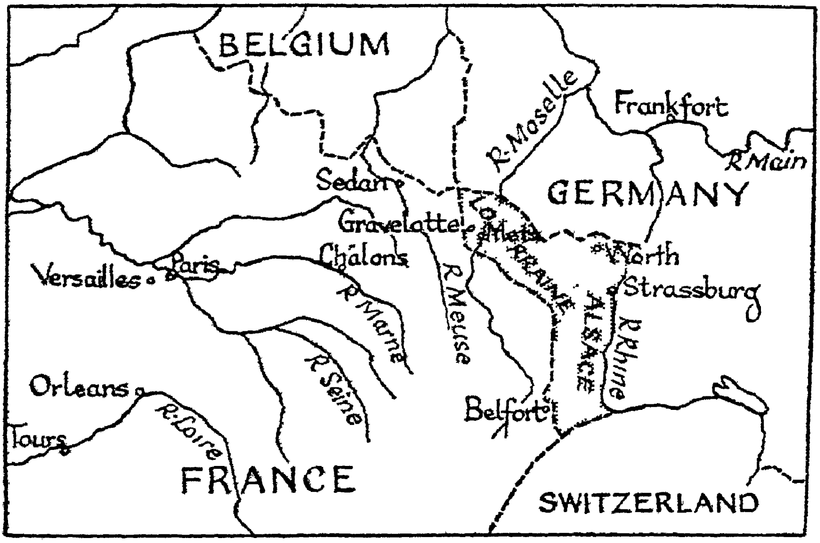
Without loss of time Bismarck began to prepare for the third war which he had foreseen as being necessary—a war with France. The military resources of the North German Confederation were organised on the Prussian model, and within two or three years Prussia controlled forces which, with their reserves, totalled not far short of a million men.

Relations between France and Prussia grew steadily worse. The French resented the rise of a strong power in Central Europe, and clamoured for "Revenge for Sadowa." Newspapers in both countries fanned popular passions, and war appeared to be inevitable. Napoleon's prestige with his own people was lowered by the rise of Prussia, and he demanded of Bismarck the cession of territory as "compensation." At different times he asked for the Palatinate, Luxemburg, and Belgium. Bismarck had no intention of yielding to any of these demands, and at the right time he made use of them to deprive France of possible allies. By showing Napoleon's demand for the cession of the Palatinate, a Bavarian possession, to the Bavarian Government he inspired in that state the deepest distrust of France, and in course of time the South German states allied with Prussia. By revealing to Great Britain the demand for Belgium he revived British distrust of Napoleon and ensured the neutrality of Great Britain in the forthcoming war.

He secured the neutrality of the Tsar by pointing out that a Franco-Prussian war would provide Russia with a convenient opportunity of denouncing that clause in the Treaty of Paris of 1856 by which she was obliged to refrain from building a Black Sea fleet. This restriction had been imposed by France and Great Britain, and if France was engaged in war it was unlikely that Great Britain would embark single-handed in a war with Russia to maintain the clause. Nor did Bismarck really fear that Italy would support France, since, although she might have some reason to remember with gratitude the assistance given her against Austria by France in 1859, the maintenance of the French garrison in Rome had for years been resented by the Italians as an obstacle to the completion of Italian unity. Austria was forced to remain neutral by the fear of Russian attack if she allied with France.

Bismarck required for the war a pretext which should represent France as the aggressor and Prussia as the defender of German rights. Such a pretext was found in the Spanish Succession Question. Revolution in Spain had been followed by the offer of the Spanish crown to Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, a distant relative of the King of Prussia, and though it was at first refused it was afterwards accepted. Benedetti, the French ambassador to Prussia, informed King William that France would not consent to Leopold's becoming King of Spain. War seemed inevitable, but, much to

Bismarck's disappointment, Leopold withdrew his acceptance. With incredible folly the French Government refused to be satisfied with its diplomatic victory, and at an interview with King William at Ems, on 13th July, 1870, Benedetti demanded a pledge that he would never sanction a revival of the Hohenzollern candidature for the Spanish throne. The King politely refused, the French Government accepted its refusal, and the matter ought to have dropped.


BELGIUM
R. Moselle
Frankfort
R. Main
GERMANY
Sedan
Gravelotte
Metz
LORRAINE
Wörth
Strassburg
Châlons
Versailles
Paris
R. Marne
R. Meuse
ALSACE
R. Rhine
R. Seine
Orleans
Tours
R. Loire
Belfort
FRANCE
SWITZERLAND

THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR

A report of the incident was telegraphed to Bismarck at Berlin, and he decided to publish the telegram in such a form as to suggest that the Ems interview had been abrupt and discourteous, which was not the case. National passions were aroused, the French thinking that Benedetti had been insulted, the Prussians believing that he had insulted the King. Napoleon, who was ill at the time, did not wish for war, but intense excitement was aroused in Paris, and within a day or two war was declared.

The effect of Bismarck's diplomacy was now seen in the isolation of France. She had no ally, while Prussia received the support of the South German states. The effect of the preparations made by Von Roon and Von Moltke was seen in the smooth working of the military machine. France was confident of her capacity to beat Prussia, but everything went wrong from the start. Supplies for the army were lacking, cannon were without ammunition, men were without uniforms, regiments were without commanders, generals were without armies. Reserves were inadequate, and from the first the French were outnumbered by the enemy.

Three German armies invaded France. Early in August the Crown Prince defeated Marshal MacMahon at the Battle of Worth, and the Marshal was forced to withdraw to Châlons. Another German army under Prince Frederick Charles inflicted a series of defeats on the main French army under Marshal Bazaine and compelled it to take refuge in the fortress of Metz, where it was encircled. The Emperor, with MacMahon, marched to the relief of Metz, but he was surrounded at Sedan. A battle took place on 1st September in which heavy casualties were sustained, and on the following day Napoleon surrendered with his forces to the enemy. Over 100,000 men thus became prisoners of war.

The immediate effect was, as narrated elsewhere, the fall of the Empire and the establishment of the Third Republic. A Provisional Government of National Defence was organised, and the war was continued. The Germans pressed on and besieged Paris. Tremendous preparations were made for resistance, and the city held out for four months. But the German hold tightened, and the surrender of Bazaine with 180,000 men at Metz released further German forces for the siege of Paris. Gambetta escaped from Paris and raised fresh armies in the south and west of France, but they lacked equipment and training and were unable to relieve the besieged city. The Parisians suffered terribly from famine, cold, and bombardment, and on 28th January, 1871, the city capitulated.

An armistice was concluded, and terms of peace were arranged. By the Treaty of Frankfort, in May, 1871, France agreed to cede to Germany Alsace (except the fortress of Belfort) and eastern Lorraine (including Metz), to pay a war indemnity of five thousand million francs (£200,000,000), and to support a German army of occupation until the indemnity was paid.

Before the surrender of Paris the final scene in the drama of German unification was enacted at Versailles. After the Battle of Sedan negotiations had been opened between

Bismarck and the South German states for their admission to the Confederation. Although some difficulty was experienced with Bavaria, agreement was at length reached and was followed at once by the offer of the title of German Emperor to King William I.

In the palace of Louis XIV the German Empire, including the North German Confederation and the states south of the Main, was proclaimed, with the King of Prussia as German Emperor.

CHAPTER XX

THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE

THE constitution of the German Empire, which was proclaimed at Versailles in January, 1871, was already settled except in points of detail, as it was based on that of the North German Confederation, which had already existed for four years. The Empire consisted of a confederation of twenty-five states. Of these by far the largest and most important was Prussia, whose King was German Emperor. The state rulers (kings, dukes, etc.) were not deprived of their positions, and they retained a substantial degree of authority in the internal affairs of their dominions.

The Imperial Legislature consisted of two Chambers. The Bundesrath, which was similar to the Diet of the German Confederation from 1815 to 1866, consisted of delegates appointed by the state rulers, while the Reichstag was composed of members popularly elected. The Bundesrath was more important than the Reichstag, and in it Prussia had seventeen votes. As Prussian influence was strong in the North German states Prussia was usually able to control the Bundesrath. Further, Prussia was empowered to veto any proposal relating to the army or navy, and she was able, by herself, to reject any proposed amendment to the Imperial constitution. The Reichstag had more limited powers. Its consent was required for the levying of new taxes but not for the continuance of existing taxation, and the assent of both Chambers was necessary for the passing of new laws. But ministers were appointed by the Emperor and were not responsible to the Reichstag, which, therefore, was powerless to remove them. The most important minister was the Chancellor, who, under the Emperor, directed Imperial policy and to whom other ministers were subordinate. Very large powers were retained by the Emperor, and the Legislature was unable to control his policy to any marked extent. He was able to declare war and to make treaties. The forces of the Empire were under his control, and the allegiance of all German soldiers was due to him and not to the state rulers.

The German Empire lasted nearly half a century—from 1871 to 1918—and during that period it had three Emperors. William I lived till 1888, his son Frederick survived him by only a few weeks, and William II reigned from 1888 to 1918. During its whole existence the Empire was under the control of only two men. Bismarck, in whom the confidence of William I continued unabated, held office as Chancellor until 1890; after his retirement William II directed the affairs of the Empire in person, and the Chancellors were merely officials who carried out the Emperor's policy.

In the course of a few years Bismarck had achieved German unity, thus solving a problem that had evaded settlement for centuries. Careful guidance was necessary for many years, however, to ensure that the new Empire should become firmly established. Bismarck's foreign policy after 1871 is described in another chapter, and it is proposed to consider here some of the many problems which arose in the internal administration of the Empire.

The princes of South Germany were by no means fully satisfied with the turn things had taken. The independence of ruling princes had been a feature of German life for centuries and had been fully recognised ever since the Treaty of Westphalia, 1648. It was not to be expected that the Kings of Bavaria and Würtemberg would be indifferent to the loss of their sovereignty. But the hopelessness of any attempt to overthrow Prussian domination was apparent, and the jealousies of the princes towards one another were turned to the advantage of Prussia by Bismarck in the Bundesrath.

The German Empire contained some few millions of people —French, Danes, Poles—who were not German, but it was by no means to be compared with the Austrian Empire, which included a dozen or more of subject races, some of which numbered many millions. There are few large modern states which do not contain, in one province or another, people of a race and language other than that of the dominant nationality in the state, and in this respect the German Empire was in no worse condition than many other countries. The "foreigners" in Germany were too few, too much scattered, and with too little in common, to be a source of grave difficulty to the Imperial Government.

A much more serious problem had to be faced in the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church to the new Empire. The successive defeats of Austria and France by Prussia had been defeats of Catholic states by a Protestant power, and, while the Holy Roman Empire until 1806 and the German Confederation until 1866 had been under Catholic leadership, the German Empire was under Protestant control. Roman Catholics had been active in Prussia for many years, and widespread propaganda had been carried on by Jesuits and other religious orders. The Roman Catholics of the Empire now organised themselves as a political party, the Centre, and secured substantial representation in the Reichstag. This group was politically active, and, on the questions which arose from time to time, it acted in the interests of the Church rather than of the Empire. Even if no other circumstances had arisen, Bismarck would have viewed this party with displeasure.

But a split occurred among the Catholics. The dogma of Papal Infallibility was proclaimed from Rome in 1870, and all Roman Catholics were required to accept it. Most of them did so, but a number of professors and teachers in German universities refused, and they formed a separate religious group known as the "Old Catholics" (since they claimed to believe and to teach everything that was truly Catholic, but to reject recent additions to the Catholic faith). Such men were expelled from all posts which were under the control of Roman Catholic bishops; they were excommunicated; Roman Catholic students were forbidden to attend their lectures; Roman Catholics were forbidden to attend church services conducted by Old Catholic priests. Against such persecution by their Roman Catholic superiors the Old Catholic priests looked to the German Government for protection.

Bismarck was ready to intervene. He cared not at all for the purely ecclesiastical aspect of the dispute, but he was already conscious of the antagonism of the Roman Catholic Church to the German Empire, and he was glad of a pretext to make war on any influence which would tend to the splitting up of the Empire which he had welded together and to the weakening of what he had made strong.

The struggle which followed was called the *Kulturkampf* (the fight on behalf of civilisation). Members of religious orders were forbidden to engage in teaching in the Empire, and Jesuits were ordered to leave the country. The German envoy was withdrawn from the Vatican in 1872. Schools were placed under lay inspection, and in 1874 it was ordered that all marriages should take place before state officials and should then be fully valid whether a religious ceremony took place afterwards or not. More drastic rules were enforced in Prussia, though not in the strongly Catholic states of the south. In the month of May in each of the years 1873, 1874, and 1875 certain laws were passed through the Prussian Landtag These enactments were known as the May Laws, or the Fall Laws (from the name of the minister who introduced them). Public excommunication by Roman Catholic priests was forbidden; candidates for the priesthood were ordered to study at a state university for three years and to pass an examination in general knowledge; appointments of Roman Catholic clergy were to be subject to state control (the Government having power to withhold its sanction); Roman Catholic colleges were to be open to state inspection; religious orders were dissolved or were expelled.

A period of bitter conflict followed. The Pope declared the May Laws to be null and void, a proceeding which was regarded by Bismarck as in itself a justification for all that he had done. The interference of a foreign power in German internal affairs could not possibly be permitted. The Roman Catholic clergy defied the laws, and, in spite of imprisonment, fines, and expulsion, remained defiant. Representing themselves as the victims of state persecution, and in spite of their own persecution of the Old Catholics a few years earlier, they gained a considerable measure of support.

At length Bismarck wearied of the struggle. He had relied on the Liberal party in the Reichstag for support in his quarrel with the Centre, and he saw the approach of an even more formidable danger to the Empire in the growth of Socialism, in fighting which he would not be able to rely on the Liberals. In 1877 the Chancellor offered his resignation to the Emperor; William, who had not been altogether in accord with him over the *Kulturkampf*, declined it with the single word, "Never!" Bismarck, therefore, retained office, and the death of Pius IX in 1878 and the election of Cardinal Pecci as Pope with the title of Leo XIII afforded an opportunity for a settlement of the dispute. Leo's attitude was conciliatory, and a German representative was received again at the Vatican. In 1879 the May Laws were suspended and were never revived. They were repealed in 1886. Religious orders, except the Jesuits, were permitted to return. Only the laws relating to civil marriage and a state inspection of schools remained as the outcome of the struggle. In the main the Church had won, and henceforth the Centre party supported Bismarck in the struggle upon which he embarked against the Socialists.

The party of the Socialists, or Social Democrats, was founded by Karl Marx and Ferdinand Lassalle. Appealing especially to those who suffered under the existing economic system, it aimed at the entire reorganisation of society. In the ideal Socialist state German militarism and Imperial power would have no place, and Bismarck recognised that Socialist success would involve the ruin of all that he had achieved. Apart from Socialist aims Bismarck hated the party because it was democratic; he had spent his life in upholding monarchy and was no believer in democracy. He fought it even more strenuously than he had fought the Church; he was no more successful in the one case than in the other.

Bismarck followed two methods in his attempt to combat Socialism. The course which was natural to a man of his character was that of repression, and in carrying this out he drew apart from the Liberals in the Reichstag and relied for support upon the Centre and the Conservatives. He did not depend upon repression only, however, but he endeavoured to remove the economic grievances which produced Socialism. The state began to inquire into the hardships of the poorer classes and, by improving their conditions of life, tried to deprive the Socialist party of its reason for existence.

In 1878 a repressive law was passed for a period of four years; and it was renewed from time to time until 1890, when it was discontinued. Meetings, societies, and publications which aimed at Socialist propaganda were forbidden, and to enforce these regulations extensive powers were conferred upon the police. During the period in which this law remained in force many hundreds of people were imprisoned, others were exiled, and many books and newspapers were suppressed. But, in spite of the vigilance of the police, newspapers which were printed abroad were introduced into Germany, and propaganda continued.

Bismarck realised that the growth of Socialism was in large measure due to the discontent of the working classes with their lot. Workmen might be reduced to extreme poverty through sickness or accident or the approach of old age, and he thought that it was possible to provide against these contingencies of life by a system of state insurance. Insurance against sickness was begun in 1883, against accident in 1884, and to provide old age pensions in 1889; the cost of these insurances was borne mainly by employers and employees, though a contribution was made by the state. Bismarck expected that, as provision was made against these misfortunes, the working classes would be more contented and less inclined to turn to Socialism.

Neither the policy of direct repression nor that of state Socialism availed to prevent the growth of the Socialist (or Social Democratic) party. In the elections of 1878 the Socialists were able to muster half a million votes; in 1890, after twelve years of persecution, they polled a million and a half, and the party steadily continued to grow.

The years of Bismarck's rule were characterised by a great advance in the material wealth of the country. The iron ores of Lorraine were taken to the coal-fields of the Ruhr and, through the adoption of the Gilchrist-Thomas process, an important steel industry sprang up. The German textile industry also became important, and many new industries, encouraged by the state, came into existence. Railways were extended, the banking system was built up, and technical education was advanced.

The commercial policy of the Empire was changed in 1879. Until that year customs duties had been low, and there had been a strong tendency towards free trade. Bismarck decided to increase the customs duties and establish a protective system, and he did this for two reasons, neither of which was connected with the abstract arguments for protection as against free trade. In the first place, he contended that the prosperity of other countries, notably the United States, was due to protection, and that German industry could most fully develop under a system of high tariffs. A second reason for the change lay in the necessity for a larger Imperial revenue. The income of the Empire consisted of the customs receipts, together with contributions from the states. An increase in the revenue from customs would provide the Empire with larger resources, so that the state contributions might be decreased and money would be available for the social reforms which Bismarck regarded as necessary to combat Socialism.

Until the last few years of his period of power Bismarck, believing that Germany's destiny lay in Europe, was not interested in colonies, and the Empire was left behind in the race for overseas possessions. But the enormous development of German industries necessitated the acquisition of colonial possessions for the double purpose of providing raw materials for manufactures and markets for finished goods. In and after 1884 Germany began to acquire colonies, and within a year or two she was in possession of Togoland, Kamerun, Damaraland and Namaqualand (German South-West Africa), and German East Africa. Concurrently with her industrial and colonial development came a large increase in the German mercantile marine.

William I died in 1888, and, after the brief reign of his son Frederick, William II came to the throne. Bismarck's power was nearly at an end. He had not ruled Prussia and Germany for a generation without making enemies who now saw chances of intriguing against him with some prospect of success. He was now an old man; the new Emperor was young. William II was determined to rule as well as to reign; the Chancellor was convinced that an inexperienced sovereign needed the guidance of a veteran adviser. The two men soon disagreed on matters of home and foreign policy, and the Emperor required Bismarck to subordinate himself to a degree to which the old man would not submit. Thereupon the Emperor demanded and received Bismarck's resignation. William II "dropped the pilot."

William II was a man of great capacity (he was the ablest of the Hohenzollerns since Frederick the Great), which, if it had been better directed, might have enabled him to do great things for his country. But he was obsessed with medieval notions of Divine Right, and he was impatient not merely of control but of advice. His aim appeared to be to make Germany dominant not only in Europe but throughout the world, and the chief interest of his reign is concerned with his foreign policy, which led to the European War of 1914–18 and is dealt with elsewhere. The internal administration of the Empire throughout the reign was subordinated to this aim.

William II appointed General Caprivi, an able soldier whose capacity had for many years been recognised by Bismarck, as successor to the Iron Chancellor, but the policy of the Government henceforth was determined by the Emperor and not by the Chancellor, who followed the path marked out by his master. The Emperor allowed the anti-Socialist laws to lapse in 1890 and adopted a conciliatory attitude towards the Social Democrats. He hoped that the abandonment of repression and the working of the social legislation of the eighties would lead to a diminution in the volume of Socialist propaganda. But the party was now free to organise openly; annual congresses were held, and increased representation was secured in the Reichstag. Recognising the failure of his hopes, the Emperor attempted to renew the policy of persecution, but the Reichstag rejected a proposed enactment in 1895, and the progress of the party continued unchecked by law.

The Emperor maintained the policy of high protection inaugurated by Bismarck, but he concluded several commercial treaties with neighbouring countries — with Austria, Italy, Belgium, and Switzerland in 1891, and with Russia in 1894.

In 1894 Caprivi was succeeded as Chancellor by Hohenlohe, who held office for six years. The period was remarkable for the development of German naval power. The growth of the German mercantile marine and the acquisition of colonies in Africa and the Pacific, matters in which the Emperor was keenly interested, led to a strong feeling that Germany ought to have a navy adequate for the protection of her commerce and colonies. Heligoland, in the North Sea, was acquired in 1890, and the Kiel Canal between the North Sea and the Baltic was completed in 1895. Two years later a definite programme of naval construction was drawn up and approved, and a Navy League, which received immense support throughout the Empire, was founded. More ambitious naval schemes were put forward in 1900 and subsequent years, and the admitted aim of the Government and the Navy League was to challenge the naval supremacy of Great Britain.

Bülow was Chancellor from 1900 to 1909. A good deal of opposition to the Government was maintained in the Reichstag, mainly on account of the increasing taxation necessary for naval construction and for the colonies, which were not self-supporting. A constitutional crisis of the first magnitude occurred in 1908, when William II granted an interview to a representative of the *Daily Telegraph*. The publication in that journal of the Emperor's personal views, without reference to his ministers, provoked an outburst of indignation from all parties in the Empire. Bülow was with difficulty restrained from resigning, and the Emperor promised to be more discreet in future. The incident emphasised the weakness of the Imperial constitution in that ministers could not be made responsible for the actions of the Emperor.

Bethmann-Hollweg became Chancellor in 1909 and still held the position at the time of the outbreak of war in 1914. The chief interest of the period lay in the growing tension in foreign affairs. Constitutional questions—the extension of the franchise, the distribution of seats in the Reichstag proportionately to population, the responsibility of ministers to the Reichstag—were discussed, but no progress was made, and the outbreak of the European War caused their indefinite postponement. The end of the war witnessed the collapse of the Empire, the flight of the Emperor into Holland, and the establishment of a German republic.

CHAPTER XXI

THE THIRD FRENCH REPUBLIC

Two days after the surrender of Napoleon III at Sedan the third French republic was proclaimed in Paris by Gambetta, a prominent member of the Republican party. A Provisional Government was set up, which ruled France until the end of the war. As this body was not elected by the people it was felt that it ought not to conclude with Germany a peace which would necessarily involve loss of territory. On 28th January, 1871, an armistice was concluded with Bismarck in order that a National Assembly might decide whether the war should be continued or on what terms peace should be made. The National Assembly was elected, and it met at Bordeaux; it was this body which assented to the Treaty of Frankfort, which involved the loss of Alsace and eastern Lorraine, the payment of a war indemnity, and the maintenance in France of a German army of occupation.

The troubles of France were not at an end. The republic was the creation of Paris; the Assembly had been elected by France. The peasantry were anxious about the security of their property, and they wanted peace. They feared that their security would be less complete under a republic than under a monarchy. The Republicans, moreover, wanted to continue the war. For these reasons a majority of Monarchists was elected to the Assembly, which, while it did not renounce the republic, elected Thiers as head of the state with no more definite title than that of "Chief of the Executive Power."

The Assembly did not at once attempt to restore monarchy, chiefly because a reign which began by ceding French territory would probably have been short and inglorious. It preferred that the discredit of such an action should fall on the republic and that the restoration of a throne should be postponed to a more suitable occasion.

Antagonism soon developed between the new Government and the people of Paris. The Assembly decided to meet at

Versailles, to the irritation of the Parisians. Various acts of the Assembly caused further discontent in the capital, and fighting broke out in Paris between the National Guard, which had taken a prominent part in the defence of the city, and the troops of the Versailles Government. The former was victorious, and the latter were withdrawn from the city. An election of a General Council of ninety members was held in Paris, and this body, known as the Paris Commune, controlled the city for some months. Its members were revolutionaries who aimed at making the communes throughout the country almost independent, in order to weaken the central Government. They accused Thiers and the National Assembly of plotting to overthrow the republic, and the Government determined to suppress this revolt against its authority. Only a few weeks after the German siege, and while the enemy were still occupying forts to the north of the city, Paris was beleaguered by the troops of the French Government. This second siege lasted two months and was much more terrible than the first. At length Government forces entered the city and street fighting was carried on for several days, and only after thousands of people had been slain was order established.

Thiers was now faced with the heavy task of restoring peace and prosperity to the country, and he succeeded to a quite remarkable degree. Within two and a half years of the signing of the Treaty of Frankfort the indemnity was paid off, and German troops withdrew from France. The French army was reorganised, and a rigorous conscription law was passed. But with the return of peace and the passing of the worst of the troubles the Monarchists lost confidence in Thiers, who, though formerly an Orleanist, was now definitely a Republican. After the fall of the Commune the Assembly had conferred upon him the title of "President of the Republic," but when he suggested that the time had come for the framing of a constitution for the French republic it decided to withdraw its support from him, and in May, 1873, he resigned. Marshal MacMahon, well known as a Monarchist, was chosen President.

The chief difficulty of the Monarchists, one that had been seen clearly by Thiers ("it is the republic which divides us least"), lay in the fact that there were three candidates for the French throne. The Count of Chambord (Henry V) represented the Bourbon line, the Count of Paris was the Orleanist candidate, and the Bonapartists supported the Prince

Imperial, son of Napoleon III. A compromise was proposed between the first two claimants. The Count of Chambord was childless, and it was suggested that if he became King he might recognise the Count of Paris as his heir. He stipulated, however, that the Bourbon flag with its *fleurs-de-lis* should be restored in place of the tricolour. Such a condition was impossible of acceptance; popular sentiment all over the country would have been outraged by it, and Chambord remained in retirement, probably much to his relief.

Though the failure of this attempt to set up a kingdom encouraged the Bonapartists, none of the other parties wished to see the Empire restored, and the Assembly took up the task of framing a constitution for the republic. It was promulgated in 1875, and it placed France under the rule of the President of the Republic, elected for seven years, and of a Legislature consisting of a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies. Ministers, however, were to be responsible to the Legislature, so that their defeat in the Chamber of Deputies would involve their resignation. (Resignation has occasionally followed a ministerial defeat in the Senate.) The President became the ceremonial head of the state, and real power devolved upon his ministers. The National Assembly, which had been in existence nearly five years, was now dissolved, and a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies were elected early in 1876.

The republic was not yet safe. MacMahon, the President, was a Monarchist at heart, and he was not prepared to act as the constitutional President of a state which was really ruled by responsible ministers. There was a Republican majority in the Chamber, but the Monarchists were slightly more numerous than their opponents in the Senate. In 1877 MacMahon dismissed a Republican ministry and appointed the Duke of Broglie, a Monarchist, to the premiership. The Chamber of Deputies was dissolved, and in the ensuing elections the Monarchists, aided by the clergy, made great efforts to secure victory. They failed, and the new Chamber contained a Republican majority of over a hundred. In 1878 the Republicans gained a number of Senatorial seats and controlled that body also. MacMahon resigned soon afterwards, and in 1879 Grévy, a Republican, became President. The Republicans had at last secured the presidency and the control of both Chambers.

With the definite defeat of monarchical aims the republic was henceforth free to consolidate itself and to deal with various problems, at home and abroad, which needed attention. During the next few years many reforms were brought about. The press was finally freed from restriction, and public meetings were permitted without hindrance from the authorities. A national system of education, primary, secondary, and technical, was established. The Church had, except in revolutionary times, always controlled education in France, but under the schemes brought forward by Ferry priests and monks were excluded from public schools. They were staffed by laymen only, and no religious instruction was given in them. Schools might be maintained by priests and by "authorised" religious orders, but these formed no part of the public system.

Substantial additions were made to the French colonial Empire during the presidency of Grévy. A protectorate was established over Tunis, which has since practically become French territory. French Indo-China was extended by the addition of Annam and Tonkin. The republic took part in the "scramble for Africa," and secured extensive territories in West Africa.

The constitution was revised in 1884. It was decided that the republican form of government should never be subject to revision and also that the presidency should never be open to any member of a family which had formerly reigned in France. The presidency was not to be, as it had been after 1848, the stepping-stone to a throne. These measures were followed in 1886 by the expulsion from France of members of former reigning families.

As the fear of a restoration of monarchy died away, divisions appeared among the Republicans, who split up into a number of groups. Ministerial changes were frequent, and for a time the existing form of government lost popularity. Many of the acts of the republic had been bitterly opposed, and it seemed possible that if another *coup d'état* were attempted it might be successful. Grévy was succeeded by Carnot in 1887, but at this time the most prominent person in French politics was General Boulanger, the Minister for War, whom many people expected to seize power in Bonapartist fashion. Boulanger, who was very popular, announced that the constitution needed revision, and he was elected to the Chamber of Deputies by a very large majority. If he had at once proclaimed himself dictator he would probably have succeeded in overthrowing the republic. But he allowed his opportunity to pass, and the Republicans attacked him by charging him with conspiring against the safety of the state. He fled, and shortly afterwards committed suicide in Brussels. The republic had survived one more danger and had proved its stability.

A company was formed in France for the construction of a canal through the Isthmus of Panama, and Ferdinand de Lesseps, the engineer of the Suez Canal, undertook to supervise the work. The difficulties at Panama were greater than, and different from, those at Suez, and de Lesseps was now an old man. In 1889 the Panama Canal Company became bankrupt, and during the next few years the directors of the Company were accused of having bribed ministers and members of the Chamber of Deputies in order to secure privileges. Inquiries were set on foot, further charges were brought against the directors, and de Lesseps himself was accused of having acted corruptly. Charles de Lesseps, the son of the old engineer, defended his father by taking upon himself the blame for everything in which his father was concerned. Apart from this, some ministers and some deputies resigned, and the French Government was seriously weakened by the Panama scandals.

Carnot was assassinated in 1894. Casimir-Périer, who succeeded him in the presidency, resigned after a few months and was followed by Faure, who died in 1899. During Faure's term of office France was profoundly moved by *l'affaire Dreyfus*. The facts of the case may be briefly stated. Dreyfus, a captain of artillery and a Jew, was at the end of 1894 tried by court-martial and found guilty of treason in communicating military secrets to a foreign power, which, it is to be supposed, was Germany. The chief evidence of his guilt was a document known as the *bordereau*, which was said to be in his handwriting. He was sentenced to be degraded from his rank, to be expelled from the army, and to be imprisoned for life on Devil's Island, off French Guiana. Dreyfus denied that he had written the *bordereau* and strongly asserted his innocence, but at the time of his trial he found few to believe him.

In 1896 Colonel Picquart asserted his belief in the prisoner's innocence and contended that the *bordereau* had been written by Major Esterhazy in order to provide evidence against Dreyfus, but investigation was stifled. Others took up the matter, and public interest was aroused, until it might almost be said that the nation was divided into Dreyfusards and anti-Dreyfusards. It was in this division that the significance of the *affaire* lay. Among the opponents of Dreyfus were to be found the reactionaries of all kinds—the Monarchists, anxious to discredit the republic, the Clericals, who desired to strengthen the position of the Church, the anti-Semites, who professed to see Jewish influences at work against France, and the military caste, which wanted France to be dominated by the army—while the cause of the exile was championed by all who believed that the army should be the servant and not the master of the state, by those who were opposed to clerical influence, by literary men such as Émile Zola and Anatole France, by extreme Republicans such as Clemenceau, by all, in fact, who saw in the *affaire* the most insidious and the most dangerous attack that the republic had yet had to face.

Esterhazy was brought before a court-martial for the forgery of the *bordereau,* and after a trial which was a farce was acquitted. But this did not dispose of the case. Zola published a letter, beginning with the words *J'accuse,* in which he brought charges against the judges of both the Dreyfus and the Esterhazy courts-martial. He was prosecuted and condemned, but he fled to Great Britain. The Government now brought forward, in the Chamber of Deputies, three documents as new proofs of the guilt of Dreyfus. Colonel Picquart asserted that two of these had nothing to do with the case and that the third was forged, and his statement was confirmed shortly afterwards by Colonel Henry, who confessed to the forgery before committing suicide. Although the Government contended that the forgery made no difference to the guilt of Dreyfus, the case was considered by the Court of Cassation. Esterhazy fled to England and confessed to having forged the *bordereau.* The Court of Cassation annulled the decision of the original court-martial on Dreyfus and ordered a retrial of the case. The prisoner was brought back to France and tried a second time at Rennes. The greatest efforts, including an attempt to assassinate the advocate who represented Dreyfus, were made by his enemies to secure a second conviction, and Dreyfus was found guilty by five votes to two. He was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment, but President Loubet, who had succeeded Faure a few months earlier, immediately granted him a pardon.

Excitement rose to fever pitch in France during the trial, and it was reflected in most parts of the world. The opponents of Dreyfus contended that they were maintaining the honour of the army; to the civilised peoples in every continent it appeared that the honour of the French army was seriously compromised by their action. But the case was not yet over. Dreyfus and his friends continued to press, not for pardon, but for vindication. In 1906 the case was once more reviewed by the Court of Cassation, which annulled the verdict of the second court-martial, declared Dreyfus innocent, and pronounced Esterhazy guilty of the forgery of the *bordereau*. Dreyfus was reinstated in the army, promoted, and awarded the Cross of the Legion of Honour. The great result of the *affaire* on French politics was the rallying of the Republican and Socialist groups in defence of the republic and the assertion of the subordination of the army to the Government of the state.

The activity of the Clerical party in the campaign against Dreyfus embittered the feelings of the Republicans against the Church, and a conflict ensued which may in some ways be compared with the *Kulturkampf* in Germany. In both Germany and France the power of the Church seemed to be dangerous to the state; in both countries measures were taken to limit it. But in Germany the Church, in the main, held its own; the law was defied and priests were imprisoned, and in course of time Bismarck was ready to compromise. In France, on the other hand, the state asserted and maintained its supremacy; the Church lost its position and its wealth and was disestablished, a result due very largely to the fact that it had already lost its hold upon the people.

Waldeck-Rousseau became Prime Minister in 1899, and he was supported by the "Bloc," a coalition of Republicans and Socialists in the Chamber. In 1901 he introduced and passed a Law of Associations. Hitherto, by French law, every association or society of more than twenty persons had been illegal unless the Government had sanctioned it. This applied to every kind of society, but the law had not been rigidly enforced, and many religious associations had been formed without official sanction. The members of these associations were active in teaching, and it was held by Waldeck-Rousseau and the members of the Bloc that their influence was antagonistic to the republic. It was asserted that clericalism had been connected with every intrigue against the republic since its formation. The new law legalised societies for other than religious purposes, but required religious associations to seek definite sanction and to submit their rules for approval. Teaching in schools by members of unauthorised orders was forbidden. The passing of the Law of Associations was followed by the suppression of many religious orders which failed to apply for or to receive sanction, and by the confiscation of their property. Combes, the successor of Waldeck-Rousseau, acted with great vigour against the associations, and in 1904 it was enacted that teaching by even the members of authorised orders should cease within ten years. The work of suppression continued.

The activity of the Government had so far been directed against monks and nuns rather than parish clergy, but after the elevation of Pius X to the papal throne the relations between Church and State became so much strained that separation became inevitable. The Concordat of 1801 still existed, and by the arrangement then made the French Government appointed bishops and the Pope instituted them. Pius X was by no means as friendly towards the French Government as his predecessor had been. Differences of opinion arose over the institution of bishops, and a visit by President Loubet to Victor Emmanuel III in 1904 evoked a protest from the Pope. These events led to the withdrawal of the French ambassador from the Vatican and of the papal nuncio from Paris.

In 1905 the Law of Separation was passed, by which the French republic ceased to recognise any religious organisation. The Concordat thus came to an end. The state ceased to be responsible for the payment of the salaries of the priests, as had been done under the Concordat, though it safeguarded the position of the existing clergy by pensioning the older men and paying sums of money as compensation to the younger. *Associations cultuelles* (associations for public worship) were to be formed, and were to be permitted to use churches and cathedrals, which, however, were to be the property of the state.

The law applied to all religious bodies alike. The Protestant sects and the Jews complied with its conditions and suffered little, and many Roman Catholics, including a number of bishops, were prepared to accept it. The Pope, however, condemned the law, and no Roman Catholic *associations cultuelles* were formed. In 1907 the law was modified to the extent that priests were permitted to negotiate with local authorities throughout the country for the free use of the churches.

The disestablishment of the Roman Catholic Church in France was thus complete. Its priests were necessarily supported by the contributions of their adherents, who formed but a small minority of the people of France. If the Church had retained the allegiance of the bulk of the people the struggle would probably have ended differently, but successive elections indicated that the overthrow of the Church was carried out with popular approval. It should be added that Frenchmen did not leave the Roman Catholic Church in order to join other religious bodies; they became atheists or free-thinkers, or were merely indifferent to religion. The influence of the Church in France became small; there are indications, however, that in recent years it has tended to revive.

The years immediately preceding 1914 were notable for the activity and the numerical increase of the Socialists in France. Socialist deputies had co-operated with Republicans in the attack upon the Church, and in 1905 they secured the reduction of the term of military service to two years, but the alliance did not continue. The ministry of Clemenceau contained Socialists as well as Republicans, but the firmness of the Prime Minister in opposing strikes alienated the extreme Socialists. Clemenceau was followed by Briand, a moderate Socialist, who equally failed to secure the support of the extremists. Other short-lived ministries followed, but owing to their divisions the Socialists failed to exert an effective influence upon the course of affairs. They were unable, in 1913, to prevent the lengthening of the term of military service to three years. In August, 1914, party divisions were obscured altogether in view of the necessity for unity in the work of national defence.

CHAPTER XXII

THE EASTERN QUESTION—FROM THE TREATY OF PARIS, 1856, TO THE OUTBREAK OF THE EUROPEAN WAR

THE Eastern Question did not become acute again until 1875, and a brief record of the events during the twenty years following the Crimean War will be sufficient. In 1858 the powers refused to sanction a proposal that Moldavia and Wallachia should be allowed to unite, but the two provinces adopted similar constitutions and elected the same prince to rule them. In 1862 the Assemblies of the two states combined, and union was achieved under the name of Roumania. The reigning prince was deposed in 1866 and in his place was chosen Charles of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen.

In 1871 France, one of the signatories of the Treaty of Paris, was decisively defeated by Prussia in the Franco-Prussian War and was forced to accept humiliating terms of peace. Russia thereupon announced that she would no longer be bound by the terms of the Treaty of Paris, and, as France was in no condition to make effective protest, Great Britain was compelled either to fight Russia by herself to uphold the agreement or to acquiesce in its abandonment. She chose the latter course, and Russia began to build a Black Sea fleet.

In 1875 a rising, caused by the oppression of Turkish tax-gatherers, occurred in the province of Herzegovina and soon extended into Bosnia. Unrest spread rapidly throughout the Balkans. The Austrian Chancellor, Count Andrassy, with the approval of Russia and Germany, drew up a note which was presented to and accepted by the Sultan. The note demanded various reforms in the disaffected regions; it included, however, no effective guarantees that they would be carried out, and the rebels in Bosnia and Herzegovina refused to regard the Sultan's mere promise of reform as adequate ground for submission.

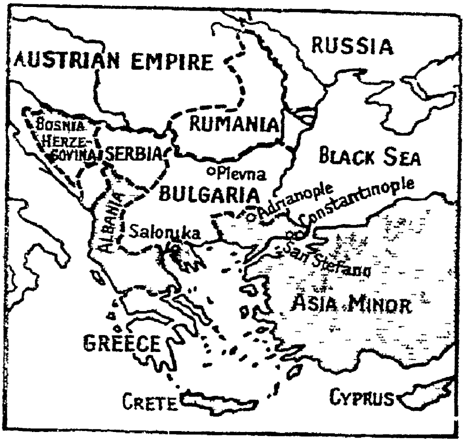
The Andrassy note was followed by a further communication, known as the Berlin Memorandum, which proposed guarantees for the execution of the promised reforms. It was backed by France and Italy as well as the three Empires, but Great Britain refused assent, and the Sultan was thereby encouraged to think that in the event of war he would receive British support.

In 1876 a revolt broke out in Bulgaria. In addition to regular troops the Turks employed, in its suppression, bodies of irregulars known as Bashi-Bazouks, and terrible atrocities were committed, thousands of the Bulgars being massacred. Intense indignation was felt throughout Europe. In Great Britain, Disraeli was reluctant to intervene, and he tried to discredit the reports from the Balkans, but Gladstone, then in opposition, made a series of speeches in which he called upon the Government to co-operate with other powers in expelling "the unspeakable Turk," "bag and baggage," from Europe. If Gladstone failed to induce Disraeli to join in a crusade against the Turks, he at least aroused British public opinion to such a degree that it was impossible for Great Britain to repeat the policy of twenty years earlier and support the Turks against Russia.

The Sultan Abdul Aziz was deposed in May, 1876, and, after Murad had occupied the throne for a few weeks, he was deposed and the reign of his brother Abdul Hamid began.

Serbia and Montenegro declared war against the Sultan in 1876, but though large numbers of Russian volunteers joined their forces they were defeated by the Turks. Before the end of the year, however, the Tsar, Alexander II, declared that the situation had become intolerable, and that if Europe could not agree to intervene he would act alone. A conference of representatives of the powers met at Constantinople and drew up a further scheme of reforms, which was rejected by the Sultan, and in April, 1877, the Tsar declared war. The chief event of the fighting was the heroic defence of Plevna by Osman Pasha against the equally heroic attack by Todleben, the veteran of Sebastopol. After the fall of Plevna the Russians reached Adrianople, and the Sultan was forced to accept the terms offered by Russia in the Treaty of San Stefano.

This agreement provided for the full sovereignty of Serbia, Montenegro, and Roumania, though the last-named state was to be compelled to cede to Russia the province of Bessarabia, which she had obtained in 1856, in exchange for the less valuable Dobrudja. But the most important feature of the treaty was the proposal to establish a new state, Bulgaria, under nominal Turkish suzerainty, extending from the Danube to the Ægean. If this proposal had been carried out Turkey in Europe would have retained four detached portions of her original domain—the region near Constantinople, the Salonika peninsula, Albania with Thessaly and Epirus, and the distant provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina—and the end of her rule in the Balkans would have been in sight.

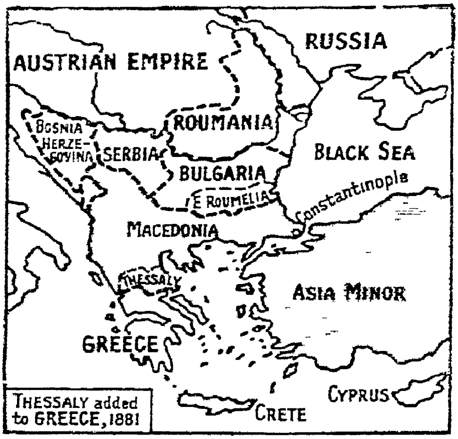


The Balkans — Settlement proposed by the Treaty of San Stefano, 1878

Great Britain feared that the new Bulgarian state would be too much under the influence of Russia, and demanded that the Treaty of San Stefano should be revised; in other quarters, too, the settlement was disliked. Russia, however, might reasonably demur at reopening the question at the request of powers which had taken no part in the fighting. Some preparations were made for war, but the Russian attitude was conciliatory, and it was agreed that a Congress of the powers should be held at Berlin, under the presidency of Bismarck, to try to reach a solution of the problem. The work of the Congress was simple, since the main points at issue were settled by negotiation before it opened.

By the Treaty of Berlin, 1878, the new state of Bulgaria was reduced in size. The part south of the Balkans, known as Eastern Roumelia, was to remain within the Turkish Empire and was to be under the rule of a Christian governor appointed by the Sultan, while the province of Macedonia was to remain under direct Turkish rule. The provisions of the earlier treaty with regard to the independence of Serbia, Montenegro, and Roumania were left untouched at Berlin, and the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina were placed under the rule of Austria, though they were not definitely annexed by that power. Montenegro and Serbia received some additions of territory, but Roumania had to submit to the exchange of Bessarabia for the Dobrudja. Great Britain received the island of Cyprus.

The arrangements made at Berlin in 1878 have been the subject of much criticism. When the British representatives, Disraeli and Lord Salisbury, returned home the Prime Minister declared that they had obtained "peace with honour." It is to be presumed that Disraeli, by this phrase, meant that British interests in the East had been maintained and that war with Russia had been averted. In the light of subsequent events it is doubtful if the settlement can be regarded as a satisfactory and final solution of the problem. The treaty certainly reduced the size of European Turkey and removed some millions of people from Ottoman rule, and this was done in spite of the guarantee of 1856. But nothing was done for the unfortunate inhabitants of the province of Macedonia, who had to endure a further period of oppression before gaining their freedom. The separation of Eastern Roumelia from Bulgaria lasted only till 1885, in which year the two provinces united. The Russian design to work through the Balkans, directly over the ruins of Turkey, or indirectly through vassal states carved out of Turkey, to the Mediterranean, was checked. But the Russian efforts to expand merely changed their direction. After 1878 attempts were made to extend Russian influence in Asia—towards the Far East, in Manchuria, and towards the south, in Persia and Afghanistan. The antagonism of Great Britain and Russia over the Eastern Question was, in fact, diverted and continued over the Far Eastern Question.



THE BALKANS—AFTER THE TREATY OF BERLIN, 1878

Yet it is difficult to suggest an alternative policy which might have been followed by British ministers in 1878. The opportunity for co-operation with, instead of opposition to, Russia had occurred a generation earlier and had not been seized. The bag and baggage policy (the expulsion of the Turks from Europe) advocated by Gladstone appealed to the feelings of the people, but was hardly consistent with the traditions of British statecraft in the nineteenth century. It may be doubted, moreover, whether the "sick man" was at the point of death; he showed, at Plevna, that he retained a good deal of vigour; and though the joint efforts of the powers might, and probably would, have been sufficient to bring about the fall of Constantinople and the end of the Turkish Empire in Europe it is certain that Russia would have been the gainer.

In 1881 the province of Thessaly was ceded by the Sultan to Greece, and in the same year the Prince of Roumania assumed the title of King, being known as Carol I. In 1885 Serbia launched a sudden and unprovoked attack upon Bulgaria and, much to her surprise, was beaten, though, owing to Austrian intervention, the Bulgars gained no territory.

Between 1894 and 1896 Europe was startled by news of fresh Turkish outrages, this time upon the Armenians in Asia Minor. British public opinion was in favour of action being taken in aid of the oppressed people, but Lord Salisbury, who became Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary at this time, refused to move alone, lest at some other time Russia should claim a similar right to intervene in Turkish affairs. As Russia on this occasion was unwilling to act, nothing was done. The Turks contended that they were merely suppressing a revolutionary outbreak, as any civilised Government was entitled to do. The Sultan promised reforms which were not carried out, and it must be admitted that on this occasion Great Britain, by remaining passive, permitted political to outweigh humanitarian considerations.

A Cretan revolt against Turkish rule broke out in 1896, and for a time Greek help was received. The real object of the Greeks was to annex Crete, but the powers intervened. The Sultan was compelled to grant Cretan independence, subject to nominal Turkish overlordship, but the Greeks refused to withdraw, and Crete was blockaded by the British and other fleets. War broke out between Greece and Turkey, in which the latter was victorious. The powers intervened, and by the peace which followed the Greeks were compelled to withdraw from Crete and to yield a small part of Thessaly to the Turks.

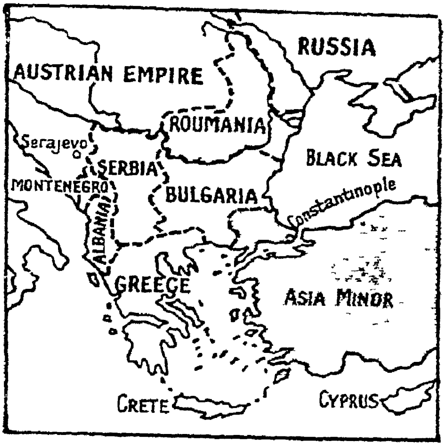
In 1908 a revolution occurred in Turkey. A Liberal party, known as the Young Turks, demanded of the Sultan the grant of a constitution, and, as the revolutionaries were supported by the army, the Sultan, Abdul Hamid, gave way, and a Parliament was summoned. These events were viewed with something like dismay in many parts of Europe. It was feared that a regenerated, democratic Turkey, enjoying political freedom and religious toleration, might make efforts to recover provinces which had passed out of Turkish control but were still nominally under the Sultan's rule. To forestall such a proceeding, Austria formally annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the Prince of Bulgaria assumed the title of King and renounced the overlordship of Turkey. These actions were contrary to the Treaty of Berlin, and for a time there was a possibility of a European war. The Serbs had for many years hoped that their fellow-countrymen in Bosnia and Herzegovina would one day be united with them, and the Austrian annexation of these provinces destroyed their hopes. They protested, being encouraged to do so by Russia. But the German Emperor announced that if Russia supported Serbia in a war against Austria he would assist his ally. Russia gave way, and the crisis passed.

In 1909 a counter-revolution was attempted against the Young Turks, but failed, and the leaders of the party, holding that the plot was inspired by Abdul Hamid in order that he might recover autocratic power, deposed him and placed his brother, Mohammed V, on the throne.

Italy declared war on Turkey in 1911 and conquered the province of Tripoli, in North Africa. But Macedonia, which was still subject to Turkish misrule, was the centre of interest at this time. Within its borders lived Serbs and Bulgarians, Roumanians and Greeks, and each of the Balkan kingdoms hoped to extend its territory by obtaining at least a part of Macedonia.

The Balkan powers dropped their rivalries and in 1912 formed a league against Turkey. War was declared in October, 1912, and the Bulgarians defeated the Turks at the Battle of Lulé Burgas. They besieged Adrianople and threatened Constantinople while the Greeks and the Serbians overran Macedonia. The Turkish overthrow was so complete that an armistice was concluded, and peace negotiations were begun. Fighting was resumed, however, early in 1913, and further successes were gained. The Greeks took Janina, the Bulgarians captured Adrianople, and Scutari fell to the Montenegrins. By the Treaty of London, in May, 1913, Turkey yielded most of her European dominions to the victors.

Dissensions now appeared among the allies. Austria and Italy would not agree to Scutari remaining in Montenegrin hands, and a new state, Albania, was called into existence. Serbia and Bulgaria could not agree about the partition of Macedonia, and Bulgaria suddenly attacked her neighbour. But she was defeated by a combination of Serbs, Greeks, and Roumanians, and the Second Balkan War ended with the Treaty of Bucharest, less than three months after the Treaty of London. Serbia secured northern and central Macedonia, while southern Macedonia, with the port of Salonika, was assigned to Greece, and Bulgaria had to be content with eastern Macedonia and part of Thrace. Turkey seized the opportunity afforded by these Christian quarrels to recover Adrianople from Bulgaria.



THE BALKANS—AFTER THE TREATY OF BUCHAREST, 1913

The disfavour with which Austria had for many years regarded Serbia was increased by these events. She feared that Serbia would champion the cause of the oppressed Slav peoples within the Dual Monarchy. Serbia had emerged from the Balkan Wars with increased territory and enhanced prestige. The Slavs in Hungary were looking to her to free them from Magyar rule. If the growth of Serbian power were not quickly checked the long-threatened dissolution of the Dual Monarchy would come to pass. Austria looked for an opportunity to attack her neighbour, and she had not long to wait. The murder of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand in June, 1914, began the train of events which led to the European War and, as described elsewhere, to the entire rearrangement of the territories of South-East Europe.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE AUSTRIAN MONARCHY

TOWARDS the end of 1848 Prince Felix Schwarzenberg became Chancellor of the Austrian Empire, and he remained in office until his death in 1852. A man of great astuteness, and as determined a supporter of absolutism as Metternich, he succeeded in recovering for the Austrian monarchy not only its untrammelled authority over its own people but its influence in the German Confederation. With Schwarzenberg was associated Bach, the Minister of the Interior, under whom the old system of repression was revived. The constitution granted in March, 1849, was annulled in December, 1851. In one respect only was the Austrian system after 1851 different from that of earlier years. Feudal privileges which had been abolished were not restored, and serfdom remained a thing of the past.

Hungary was punished for her outbreak. Her historic rights were disregarded, her Diet was abolished, Croatia and Transylvania were made into provinces separate from Hungary, and the remainder of the country was cut up into five divisions, all ruled directly from Vienna. For the next nine years the defeated Magyars could only render sullen obedience to their masters.

Under such a system the Austrian Empire might be united; with large masses of its people discontented it could not be really powerful. At the first serious crisis its weakness would be exposed. The crisis came in 1859, when Austria lost Lombardy to the Italians and was unable to prevent a final settlement in Italy even more favourable to the Italians than that laid down at Villafranca and Zürich.

Francis Joseph was shrewd enough to realise the cause of Austrian weakness, and he resolved to remedy it by changing the domestic policy of his Government. Abuses were to be inquired into and redressed, and the subject races were to be conciliated instead of being repressed. But it was not easy to determine what was to be done to achieve these results. Bach retired from office, and in March, 1860, the Emperor summoned thirty-eight men of various races and from various parts of his dominions to advise him on the future government of the Empire. Two types of constitution were suggested—federal and centralised. The federalists—Magyars and others—recommended that all the races within the Empire should be granted a full measure of self-government and that the central Government should be concerned only with matters which were common to the realm as a whole. The Austro-Germans advocated the centralised system, by which all matters of importance would be controlled by a Parliament of the whole Empire and the provincial Assemblies would be concerned with only minor affairs.

The Emperor inclined at first to the federal solution. By the October Diploma (1860) he authorised the establishment of provincial Diets with considerable powers. The five districts of Hungary were abolished, and the system which had existed in that country before 1848 was revived. But this did not satisfy the Magyars, who demanded the revival of the March Laws, and the Emperor, disappointed with the result of his first effort, veered to the centralist view. In 1861, by the February Patent, he called into existence an Imperial Diet—a Parliament for the whole Empire elected by the provincial Diets, whose power was reduced. Ministers were to be responsible to the Imperial Diet, and absolute government was definitely abandoned.

The system thus established did not work satisfactorily, mainly on account of Hungarian opposition. Francis Deák, who had been prominent during the agitation of 1848, but who had taken no part in the rising of 1849 and whose loyalty to the Emperor had never been in question, now led the Magyar resistance to the new constitution. The position of Hungarian Liberals was simple. They contended that the union of Austria and Hungary was personal only, that he who was Emperor in Austria was King in Hungary, and that the assent of Ferdinand I to the March Laws made them a fundamental part of the Hungarian constitution, which could not be abrogated without Hungarian consent. They refused, therefore, to accept any new constitution from Francis Joseph, contending that if they recognised his right to grant a new constitution without Hungarian assent they must equally admit his right to withdraw it. They held that the Hungarian constitution, as amended by the March Laws, was still legally in existence, and they demanded its recognition and enforcement.

For four years the Hungarian Diet refused to send members to the Imperial Diet at Vienna. Yet the dispute was conducted with moderation. Francis Joseph was genuinely anxious to reach a satisfactory arrangement, and Deák, who was no revolutionary, was ready to discuss the problem with the Emperor when he travelled to Budapesth. The Austrian defeat at Sadowa offered further proof of the weakness of the Empire while the Magyars remained dissatisfied, and in 1867 agreement was reached. The Compromise, or *Ausgleich*, was drawn up, and it was accepted by the Emperor and the Hungarian Diet.

The Empire, to be known henceforth as Austria-Hungary, was to consist of two states, Austria and Hungary, of equal status; in the former, Francis Joseph was to be Emperor, in the latter, King. In each country there was to be a Parliament, or Diet, to which the ministry was to be responsible, and neither was to interfere in the administration of the other. For certain purposes (Foreign Affairs, War, and Finance) common ministries were to be established, and, as there was no joint Parliament to which the ministers of these three departments could be made responsible, the system of "delegations" was introduced. Each Diet appointed a delegation of sixty of its members to co-operate with the corresponding delegation from the other country, and to these bodies the common ministers were to be responsible. The delegations were to meet alternately in Vienna and Budapesth. Affairs of state in the three departments mentioned above were to be considered and decisions were to be reached by the Austrian and the Hungarian delegations sitting separately. Only in case of definite disagreement were the two bodies to meet in joint session.

By the *Ausgleich* the Hungarian constitution, as settled by the March Laws, was restored, but the necessity of co-operating with Austria in certain matters was recognised. The Compromise differed in principle from both the centralist and the federal suggestions hitherto put forward, and Austria-Hungary was henceforth described as the Dual Monarchy. In 1867 Francis Joseph visited Budapesth and was crowned King of Hungary, and the close of a long struggle was marked by the grant of a complete amnesty to political exiles.

The *Ausgleich* was satisfactory to the Germans of Austria and to the Magyars of Hungary. But the Germans were outnumbered by other races in Austria, and the Magyars were in a minority in Hungary. A settlement which met their views without taking the wishes of other races into account could not be regarded as ideal, and though the *Ausgleich* existed until the collapse of the Dual Monarchy in 1918 the subject races remained discontented.

After 1867 the Czechs in Bohemia pressed for the recognition of their own nationhood on terms similar to those granted to the Magyars. The Emperor was at first inclined to assent, but the opposition of both Germans and Magyars induced him to draw back, and Bohemia failed to win recognition as an equal partner with Austria and Hungary. In course of time, however, many concessions were made to the Czechs. Changes in the electoral law favoured them, and the Czech language was recognised equally with German as the official language of Bohemia.

Substantial concessions were made by the Magyars to the Croats, who, in 1868, were given a very large measure of self-government, only foreign affairs being reserved for Hungarian control. This policy, however, was not extended to other races in Hungary, and efforts, extending over many years, were made to Magyarise them. The Magyar language alone was official, except in Croatia.

The treatment accorded to the many smaller nationalities gave rise to the assertion that the *Ausgleich* was no more than an alliance between Germans and Magyars, the two strongest races in the Austro-Hungarian dominions, to enable them to keep the others in permanent subjection. But small races are not easily stamped out or absorbed, and racial problems continued to agitate the Dual Monarchy until its collapse.

From time to time the continued existence of the *Ausgleich* was threatened by a renewal of friction between Austria and Hungary. On various points the Magyars demanded, and sometimes obtained, further concessions. The efforts of the Emperor and of the moderate statesmen in both countries availed to keep the arrangement alive. Francis Joseph died in 1916, after a reign of sixty-eight years, and was succeeded by his grand-nephew Karl. A year or two later, at the close of the European War, the monarchy was overthrown, and the ramshackle Empire fell to pieces. The territorial arrangements made by the Peace Conference in 1918 are described elsewhere.

CHAPTER XXIV

RUSSIA

A COUNTRY so immense as Russia, which extended from the shores of the Arctic Ocean to those of the Black Sea and from the Baltic Sea eastwards to the Pacific Ocean, was necessarily inhabited by peoples of many races, religions, and languages. Two-thirds of its people were Slavs and were adherents of the Orthodox Church, but the Russian Empire included Finns, who were Lutheran, and Poles, the majority of whom were Roman Catholic, besides people of many other races and religions, especially in the south and south-east. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the country was still medieval rather than modern, and Asiatic rather than European.

Until the reign of Alexander II the mass of the people were serfs who were compelled to live and work on the estates of their lords; although they held from their lords grants of land large enough to provide them with the means of living, they were practically without rights and were at times subject to brutal ill-treatment. They were heavily taxed, they might be compelled to undertake any kind and any amount of labour, they might be sold, flogged, exiled to Siberia, conscripted for the army, imprisoned, chained, or otherwise maltreated, and they had no means of redress. They were said to be ignorant, superstitious, idle, and drunken; the discredit for their vices, however, should be assigned to their oppressors rather than to themselves. Much of the land in Russia belonged to the Crown; serfs on the Imperial estates were in substantially better condition than those in private ownership.

The nobles were the privileged class. They were exempt from much of the taxation; they held commissions in the army; they possessed land and were wealthy through the labour of their serfs. Yet agriculture was so backward and servile labour so inefficient that many of the nobles were in constant financial difficulties, and their estates were mortgaged.

Alexander I, who became Tsar in 1801, was of deeply religious temperament and was inclined to follow a policy of reform. At the time of the Congress of Vienna he was looked upon as the most liberal-minded of the monarchs of Europe. It was he, indeed, who suggested the Holy Alliance, but the alliance which he conceived was far from being the instrument of repression which it afterwards became in the hands of Metternich. He was known to be in sympathy with the granting of constitutions to the nations of Europe; he set the example to other monarchs by granting a constitution to Poland, which was made a separate kingdom with himself as King and was connected with Russia only through his own person. An elected Diet was established in Poland and was endowed with extensive powers, and for a time the country enjoyed institutions almost as free as those of Great Britain.

In his government of Russia the Tsar wished to improve the state of the country. He recognised the evils which existed; he tried to check corruption among public officials; he realised the necessity of improving the condition of the serfs. But he accomplished almost nothing. He found that, opposed by the passive resistance of the officials of his Empire, even a Tsar could do little. And he soon ceased even to wish to undertake reforms.

Metternich at length won the Tsar over to the side of repression. He pointed out to Alexander the dangers of a Liberal policy; he exaggerated the importance of such trivial incidents as the Wartburg Festival and the murder of Kotzebue. The Tsar was converted. He acknowledged that Metternich was right and that he had been wrong. Henceforth he was an autocrat. Restrictions were reimposed, even in Poland, and the last few years of Alexander's reign were reactionary.

Alexander I was succeeded by his brother Nicholas I in 1825. A military revolt was attempted in December, but it was easily crushed, and the leaders of the Decembrist movement were put to death or exiled to Siberia. The reign of Tsar Nicholas thus began with repression, and this policy continued for thirty years. Rigid censorship of the press was maintained throughout this period, and forbidden books might be neither printed nor imported. Even to be in possession of forbidden literature was punishable with exile. An organisation of secret police, known as the Third Section, was active in seeking out and punishing all persons suspected of disaffection in any form. Foreign travel was forbidden, even to the wealthy, except under rigid conditions, and education was discouraged.

For some years the Poles had been discontented, and in 1830 a Polish insurrection broke out. A revolutionary Government was set up, and for a short time it was master of the country. But Russian troops stamped the revolt out ruthlessly. The Polish constitution was abolished, and in 1832 the country was united with Russia, although the Polish administrative, judicial, and local government systems remained distinct from those of the rest of the Empire.

Yet even so autocratic a potentate as Nicholas I twice made war upon Turkey—on the first occasion in support of the Greeks in their struggle for independence, and in 1853 in order to enforce his claim to be regarded as the protector of Christian peoples in the Ottoman Empire. Such a man as the Tsar can hardly have been moved by the gallantry of the Greeks or by the sufferings of other Christian peoples at Turkish hands, and it must be assumed that he was influenced by the fact that he and they professed the same religion and by the hope that he would be the gainer if the Turkish Empire were weakened. In other directions he was invariably on the side of absolutism, though he was never so completely under the influence of Metternich as his brother had been. Russia was untouched by the wave of revolutionary enthusiasm which rolled over Europe in 1848, and it was due to Russian intervention that the Hungarian revolt was crushed in 1849.

Till the Crimean War the Russian army had been recognised as the most powerful in Europe. In that war the Russian losses were enormous. The troops were badly equipped and badly led, and they were defeated. The prestige gained in 1812 was lost in 1854. Reform was evidently necessary, but Nicholas did not live to carry it out.

Alexander II succeeded his father in 1855. He was no mere reactionary but an educated and enlightened man who was determined to reform the conditions of Russian life. He pardoned many exiles, gave greater freedom to the press, permitted foreign travel, and encouraged education by removing restrictions on the universities and by setting up schools. But the greatest achievement of Alexander II, that by which he will ever be remembered, was the emancipation of the serfs.

The Edict of Emancipation was issued in 1861, but the actual work of freeing the serfs extended over several years.

On the Crown lands the process was simple. Serfs were declared to be free and to be no longer liable to pay dues to the state. These dues were the equivalent of rent for the land which they held, and by their abolition the peasants were recognised as the owners of their holdings. If, however, a similar procedure were followed with regard to the serfs on private lands, an injustice would be done either to the serfs or to the nobles. To free the serfs without giving them land would be to leave them to starve or to work for their former lords at starvation wages, and they might be worse off as free men than in bondage. Yet to make them a present of the land which they held from their lords would be to ruin the latter. It was decided to give to each peasant his house and garden. Further, in each village an extent of land was to be transferred from the lord to the village community as a whole; it was to be allotted among the peasants but was not to become the property of individuals; and the holdings were to be reallocated every few years. The lord was to receive a sum of money as compensation for the loss of the land assigned to the village; this was to be provided by the state and was to be repaid by the peasants in instalments extending over a period of forty-nine years.

Such a rural revolution was necessarily followed by important consequences. The status of the peasant was improved, and he was freed from the inhuman accompaniments of Russian serfdom—the knout and the chain. But he was not better off economically, and discontent continued. The instalments which the peasant had to pay to the state were in many cases more burdensome than the old labour obligations to the lord, and as, rightly or wrongly, he regarded the land as already his own, he resented as unjust the compulsion to purchase it anew. Nor did agrarian discontent diminish with the passage of time. The rural population increased, and the land of the village community, fixed in amount, had to be allotted among an ever-increasing number of people. The share of the individual diminished, and the peasants remained in a state of extreme poverty. Yet, when due allowance has been made for all these circumstances, the emancipation of the serfs remains the outstanding event of Russian history in the nineteenth century.

A system of local government was set up in the reign of Alexander II. In every district an Assembly, popularly elected and known as a Zemstvo, was established, and representatives from the district Zemstvos were to form provincial Zemstvos. They were given powers to control such matters as road maintenance, education, and hospitals. In course of time they accomplished a good deal of useful work, and, as has happened in more advanced countries, men who took part in local government became politically active. Their local work proved valuable as a training for national politics, and, though no opportunity of making use of their experience presented itself for many years, when Dumas were established there was no lack of members who had had some experience of public work in the Zemstvos.

The accession of an apparently Liberal Tsar had aroused the hopes of the Poles, and they were encouraged by the success of the Italians in 1859 and 1860. But Alexander was no true Liberal. He conceded the reforms described above because he regarded them as necessary for the prosperity of Russia and not from any leaning toward Liberal principles. He acted, in fact, in the spirit of benevolent despotism. He did not regard the objects of Polish aspiration as either necessary or desirable, and he determined to make no concession. In March, 1863, rebellion broke out. The Poles hoped for independence, but their cause was hopeless from the beginning. They had almost no organised army and no source of supplies, and after one battle, in which they were defeated, the fighting became irregular and ineffective. They hoped to keep the rebellion going long enough to secure foreign aid, but although Great Britain and France were sympathetic towards the movement they were unwilling to intervene, while Prussia, under Bismarck, massed troops on the border to prevent the escape of the rebels into Germany. Within a year of its outbreak the revolt was crushed with great severity. It was followed by the complete incorporation of Poland in the Russian Empire and the proclamation of Russian as the official language of the country.

The rebellion of 1863 was mainly inspired by Polish nobles, and the peasants held aloof. The nobles were now punished by being deprived of the services of their serfs, to whom lands were assigned from the estates of their former masters. Some compensation was, indeed, given to the nobles for the lands of which they were deprived, but the money was raised by a general tax, to which all, nobles and peasants alike, had to contribute.

In the latter part of his reign Alexander II became definitely reactionary, on account, partly, of the Polish revolt, and, partly, of attempts to assassinate him. The dissatisfaction of the enlightened and progressive minority in Russia found expression in the development of Nihilism. The Nihilists contended that existing institutions, political, social, and religious, should be swept away, and that a new organisation of society should be set up. For some years a campaign of propaganda was carried on, and though thousands of converts were made to the principles of revolution the secret police were so active in arresting the Nihilists and sending them to Siberia that little progress was made. In despair, the Nihilists resolved to attempt to win by terror what was denied them by reason. They resorted to outrages, and attempts, successful and unsuccessful, by bomb, pistol, and knife, were made on the lives of many high officials. In 1881 the Tsar himself was assassinated.

The reign of Alexander III (1881–94) was a period of undisguised reaction and repression. The new Tsar was under the influence of Pobiedonostseff, Procurator of the Holy Synod, a man who utterly abhorred all forms of constitutional government. The secret police continued to be active against the Nihilists, who were hunted down, imprisoned, exiled, executed. Education was restricted, and newspapers were subject to rigid censorship. Trial by jury, which had been established in the previous reign, was abandoned in certain classes of cases. The powers of the Zemstvos, which had done good work since their establishment, were curtailed. Even the rural settlement effected in the previous reign was modified by the establishment of a system of Land Captains to control the peasants. These officials, many of whom were the former lords of the serfs, were given great powers over the people, which extended even to the right of imprisoning them without trial.

Until the reign of Alexander III Russia had been untouched by the industrial changes which had appeared in Great Britain a century earlier and in various countries of western Europe in the course of the nineteenth century. But under the guidance of Witte, who became Minister of Finance in 1892, industrial development began. Russia possessed vast natural resources, and it was Witte's ambition to set up industries which should be based on the raw materials which Russia itself could supply. Protective duties were established to guard against foreign competition, and transport facilities were provided by the construction of railways. Capital was needed, however, and was supplied in large amounts by French financiers, a circumstance which contributed to the formation of the Dual Alliance between France and Russia, referred to elsewhere in this book.

The industrial development which began in the reign of Alexander III and was continued in that of his successor had its political side. The establishment of factories brought large numbers of workmen together and promoted the growth of large towns. The labour problems—wages, hours, and conditions of work—which had appeared elsewhere sprang up in Russia. Efforts were made to form labour unions, strikes occurred, and the discontent of workmen afforded opportunities for the spread of revolutionary propaganda. The utmost activity was shown by the secret police in trying to prevent these results, but it was far more difficult to suppress agitation in the factory towns than in the country villages.

Nicholas II, the last of the Tsars, succeeded his father in 1894. No change of policy was attempted during the first part of the reign, and the economic condition of the country became steadily worse. Owing to the increase of the rural population the overcrowding of the peasants on the village lands continued, and the struggle to gain a living became more acute. Expenditure on the army and on railway construction involved heavy taxation of the peasants. The wretched conditions of factory labour encouraged the spread of Socialism among the workmen. Discontent everywhere led to a dull despair.

Finland, acquired from Sweden during the reign of Alexander I, had throughout the nineteenth century been regarded as a separate grand duchy, with the Tsar as Grand Duke. Its union with Russia was merely in the person of the Tsar. It possessed a Diet with definite powers, and it had its own army and postal system. It was more prosperous and more advanced than Russia. But in 1899 Nicholas II diminished the power of the Diet, the Finnish army and postal system were incorporated in those of Russia, and the usual methods of repression were introduced into the country. The Finns protested by petitioning the Tsar, but they were powerless to resist.

Witte, the Minister of Finance, was dismissed in 1903, and Von Plehve, Minister of the Interior after 1902, controlled the Government of the country until his assassination in July,

1904. Under his direction repression continued unabated, but he was succeeded by Mirski, a man of more Liberal tendencies. A war was fought against Japan in 1904, and the weakness, corruption, and incompetence of the army and the Government were exposed in a series of defeats, culminating in the loss of Port Arthur.

A strike of workmen broke out in St. Petersburg. On a Sunday in January, 1905, a procession of strikers, led by a priest, Father Gapon, approached the Tsar's palace in St. Petersburg, but was dispersed with great slaughter by the troops. Mirski was dismissed, and something like anarchy prevailed for some months. Many officials were assassinated, strikes were organised, mutinies occurred in the army and navy, houses were burned. The Tsar's uncle, the Grand Duke Sergius, was murdered. The news of the destruction, in May, 1905, of the Russian fleet by that of the Japanese intensified the disorder, if that were possible.

At length the Tsar decided upon a change of policy, and in August, 1905, he announced the forthcoming establishment in Russia of a Duma, or elected Assembly. But the franchise on which it was to be elected was so narrow that it was impossible to regard the Duma as representative of the Russian people, and agitation continued. In October a general strike occurred, and the stoppage of railways, newspapers, trade, and industry was so complete that the Tsar made further concessions. Witte was recalled to office; a much wider franchise was granted, and it was announced that the Duma should have the power of making laws. At the same time the Tsar's policy towards Finland was reversed. The edicts relating to that country which had been issued since 1899 were abrogated, and the powers of the Diet were restored.

This slight advance towards Liberalism in Russia was not maintained. Before the Duma was elected its powers were severely restricted. The largest party in it, the Cadets, or Constitutional Democrats, demanded that ministers should be responsible to the Duma, but the court was unwilling to make concessions, and after an existence of only two months the First Duma was dissolved.

The usual methods of repression—arrest, exile, and death—followed. At the elections for the Second Duma extreme measures were resorted to in order to secure the choice of official candidates. But the Opposition parties were again in the majority. The proceedings of the Duma of 1907 were, like those of its predecessor, stormy, and it was soon dissolved.

A new electoral law was issued by the Tsar without reference to the Duma. The franchise was now restricted, in the main, to the landowners, and the unequal struggle between democracy and absolute power ended in the defeat of the former. The Third Duma, which lasted from 1907 till 1912, contained few Cadets. It was not opposed to the Government, and its proceedings were in no way like those of its predecessors. Its most important achievement was the passing, in 1909, at the suggestion of Stolypin, of an important law which ended the system of holding village lands in common. Stolypin believed that the holding of lands in common discouraged good farming, since it was useless for an industrious man to improve land which was soon to pass out of his control. The village lands were to be apportioned among the peasants, to whom, as individuals, they were to belong henceforth. The recovery of authority during this period was accompanied by a renewed attack upon Finnish constitutional rights.

A Fourth Duma, elected in 1912, was more definitely reactionary than its predecessor. Nevertheless, the moderate party which had supported the Government in the Third Duma tended to oppose it in the Fourth, and demands for reforms were renewed.

The constitutional experiment in Russia thus appeared to be of little value. When the European War began in 1914 autocratic government still existed, and no appreciable control was exercised over it by the Assembly which was supposed to represent the country. In the early part of the war disasters occurred, and immense losses were suffered. The discontent which had existed so long welled up once more. In 1917 Tsar and Duma alike were swept away, and a republic (or, rather, a group of republics) was set up. In the following year Nicholas II and the members of his family were murdered. The revolutionary Government concluded peace with the central powers by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, by which the Baltic provinces were surrendered.

CHAPTER XXV

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS BETWEEN 1871 AND 1914

FROM the day of its foundation the German Empire was the greatest power on the continent of Europe. France was so severely defeated that for some time she almost ceased to count in international affairs, as was indicated by the action of Russia in denouncing the Black Sea clauses in the Treaty of Paris and by that of Italy in occupying Rome. Italy had only recently completed her unification and was definitely inferior in strength to the great military monarchies. Austria had been weakened by the defeats she had suffered within the past few years and by the turmoil of the races within her borders. Russia appeared to be strong, but her losses in the Crimean War had shown that her military strength was overrated. Great Britain alone was incapable of classification with the other great powers. Her military strength was admittedly small, while her naval power was overwhelming; she stood apart from European questions, and, refusing to be entangled in alliances, remained for many years in "splendid isolation."

The Franco-Prussian War left bitter memories in France, and it seemed probable that at no distant date she would embark upon a war of revenge. Bismarck regarded this as the chief danger which the German Empire had to face. By herself France could not hope to attack the Empire with success; she must seek allies. The Chancellor determined, therefore, to prevent her from obtaining allies; while she remained isolated the German Empire would be safe. And the best way to prevent France from making friends was to attach all powers as allies to Germany. It may be observed that Bismarck was entirely successful. France remained isolated in Europe until after his retirement, and the Dual Alliance between France and Russia was not formally proclaimed until 1895.

Bismarck raised no objection to the establishment of the third republic in France, since the Tsar and the Austrian Emperor would be less inclined to ally with a republic than with a monarchy. These monarchs were alarmed by the excesses of the Communards in France in 1871, and Bismarck had no difficulty in drawing them together. With the German Emperor they met in Berlin in 1872, and an understanding was reached, known as the League of the Three Emperors (*Dreikaiserbund*). No formal treaty of alliance was drawn up, but it was understood that the three Emperors would act together in maintaining the *status quo* in Europe, in settling problems arising out of the Eastern Question, and in opposing revolutionary movements.

This arrangement was not based on sound principles and was not likely to be lasting. The aims of Austria and Russia in the south-east of Europe were conflicting, since both hoped ultimately to push through to the Mediterranean over the ruins of the Turkish Empire. The next crisis in the Eastern Question was likely to find these two powers in opposition. When the crisis came, in 1877–8, Russia made war upon Turkey and forced her to assent to the Treaty of San Stefano, by which the state of Bulgaria, extending to the Ægean, was created. But Russia was forced to submit the treaty for revision to the Congress of Berlin in 1878, and though Bismarck, as President, professed to have no direct interest in the matters at issue he supported the Austrian demand for Bosnia and Herzegovina. Austria had taken no part in the war; yet she obtained important provinces. Russia, who had fought and defeated Turkey, was denied a decisive voice in settling the terms of peace. In earlier years the relations between Prussia and Russia had been cordial, and Bismarck was under obligations to Russia for her moral support at the time of the Austrian and French wars. The Russian Government now felt that it had not been fairly treated by him, and the League of the Three Emperors was henceforth seriously weakened.

In 1879 an alliance was concluded between Germany and Austria. Its terms, which were not made public until 1887, provided that if either power should be attacked by Russia the other would act in its support, and that if either should be at war with any other power than Russia the allied state would remain neutral unless Russia supported the enemy, in which case it would join in the conflict.

Bismarck also schemed to prevent an alliance between Italy and France. In this he was aided by the circumstance that the Clerical party in France wished the republic to restore the temporal power of the Pope in Rome. While there was any possibility of this occurring Italy was reluctant to ally with France. In order to promote further misunderstanding between France and Italy, Bismarck hinted to the French representative at the Congress of Berlin that Germany would raise no objection to France occupying Tunis, which she did in 1881. Lord Salisbury, the British Foreign Minister, also sanctioned the project on behalf of Great Britain. Italy had hoped to secure Tunis and was thus forestalled by France. In her disappointment, and fearing that France might extend her schemes to include Tripoli, she turned to the enemies of France and joined the Austro-German alliance in 1882, converting it into the Triple Alliance. The arrangement was to last for five years, but it was renewed from time to time until the outbreak of the European War.

The alliance was advantageous to Italy as well as to the central powers, since it secured the assistance of Austria and Germany in the event of a French attack upon Italy on behalf of the Pope, it secured her from Austrian attack on the north-east, and it recognised her status as a great power.

With the formation of the Triple Alliance Bismarck could feel that the international position was safe for Germany so long as Russia and France could be kept apart. There was little sign, so far, of their drawing together. Many prominent Frenchmen disliked Russia, and the Tsar Alexander III, who succeeded his father in 1881, detested the republic, so that Bismarck did not despair of remaining on good terms with Russia. In June, 1881, the League of the Three Emperors was revived to the extent that if any one of them made war against a fourth power the other two engaged to remain neutral. This arrangement was to last for three years, and in 1884, when the three Emperors met at Skierniewice, it was renewed for a like period. In 1887 a "Reinsurance Compact" was entered into for a similar period.

Bismarck retired from the Chancellorship in 1890, and the course of German foreign policy was changed. William II refused to renew the compact with Russia, on the ground that Germany henceforth must not be a party to secret agreements, and it is probable that if he had been willing to continue it the Tsar would have declined.

Industrial development was hindered in Russia by lack of capital, and from 1888 large amounts of money were invested in that country by French financiers. In 1891 the French fleet visited Kronstadt and was received cordially by the Tsar; in 1893 a return visit was paid to Toulon by a Russian squadron which received a warm welcome. Even in the lifetime of Alexander III an informal secret understanding was reached, and early in the reign of Nicholas II the Dual Alliance was brought into formal existence. The isolation of France was thus ended, and the powers of Europe were grouped in two armed camps, with Great Britain as yet uncommitted to either.

It was not by any means certain that Great Britain would not in course of time reach an understanding with the Triple Alliance. Points of difference existed between her and each of the members of the Dual Alliance. The British occupation of Egypt had caused dissatisfaction in France, and the occupation of Fashoda by Major Marchand in 1898 nearly led to war. Russian development in Asia—towards the far east, in Manchuria, and towards the south-east, in Afghanistan—had aroused British apprehension, and it was at least possible that Great Britain might decide to throw in her lot with the central powers. But a considerable section of British opinion was suspicious of the aims of the German Emperor. In 1895 William II sent a telegram of congratulation to Paul Kruger, President of the Transvaal republic, upon the collapse of an unauthorised filibustering expedition led by Dr. Jameson. The Emperor was believed to be contemplating intervention on behalf of the Boers in the South African War of 1899–1902. The German naval programmes of 1897 and 1900 aroused apprehension in this country, and a period of competitive shipbuilding began.

Early in the reign of Edward VII a definite attempt was made to settle the matters on which friction still existed between Great Britain and France and to bring about a good understanding between the two countries. An Anglo-French Convention was drawn up in 1904. In return for French recognition of the British position in Egypt Great Britain recognised the French position in Morocco, and similar adjustments and compromises were made with regard to competing interests in other parts of the world—West Africa, Siam, and Newfoundland. The agreement was concluded with the approval and even the enthusiasm of the people of both countries, and it developed into an Anglo-French Entente. The Entente was not an alliance; neither country was bound to assist the other in the event of attack. But it substituted friendliness for enmity. The position of France in Europe was certainly stronger, and Great Britain was no longer in utter isolation.

France was thus allied with Russia and on friendly terms with Great Britain. But Great Britain was not on friendly terms with Russia. British sympathy was with Japan in the Russo-Japanese War, and when Russian warships on the way to the Far East fired upon British fishing vessels in the North Sea war was averted with difficulty. The North Sea incident was passed over with apologies and the payment of compensation, and during the next two or three years the matters at issue between Great Britain and Russia were discussed with a view to the conclusion of a Convention on outstanding points similar to that between Great Britain and France. Agreement was reached on spheres of influence in Persia, Great Britain was recognised as dominant in Afghanistan, and both countries agreed to abstain from action in Tibet. The Convention was signed in 1907, and the Anglo-French Entente was converted into the Triple Entente.

The diplomatic activity of the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century was accompanied by competition in armaments. Every one of the five great continental powers made strenuous efforts to increase its military forces and to provide them with adequate and efficient equipment. Rivalry in naval armaments developed at the same time. The German programme of naval construction of 1900 was a definite challenge to the supremacy at sea of Great Britain, but the vigour of this country in meeting the challenge kept her definitely ahead of her rival, not only in the number and tonnage of ships but in their efficiency. A new type of warship, the Dreadnought, evolved by Lord Fisher, was characterised by heavy armour and a main armament of heavy (12-inch) guns; it was copied by Germany and Austria, and the British reply was the building of ships which carried guns of 13·5-inch and even 15-inch and 16-inch calibre. Much attention was given, especially on the German side, to experimental work upon aircraft.

This competition in armaments involved a very heavy financial burden on the great powers, and in 1898 the Tsar, Nicholas II, invited the sovereign states of the world to send representatives to a Conference at The Hague to consider the possibility of mutual agreement upon reduction of armaments. The Conference, which met in 1899, went no farther on this subject than to express the opinion that reduction of armaments by general agreement was desirable, but it established a Permanent Court of Arbitration to deal with international disputes. The Court was prepared to pronounce upon any matters which might come before it, but no dispute could be referred to it without the consent of both states concerned.

Expenditure on armaments continued to increase, and a second Hague Conference, also summoned by the Tsar, met in 1907. It adopted a code of regulations for the conduct of war in a more humane fashion, though it might be doubted whether any power would consent to be bound by them if their observance was likely to lead to defeat and their violation to victory. On the main business of the Conference, the limitation of armaments, another resolution was passed, as ineffective as that of the first Conference.

On several occasions during the early years of the twentieth century crises occurred which brought Europe to the verge of war. Some of these were concerned with rival interests in Morocco; others arose out of developments of the Eastern Question.

Both France and Germany had commercial interests in Morocco, which was adjacent to Algeria, a French possession. The country was in a disturbed condition, and the French, with British and Spanish concurrence, resolved to compel the new Sultan, Abdul Aziz, to accept a scheme of reforms. But the German Emperor adopted a bellicose attitude. He visited Tangier in person, asserted the independence of the Sultan, and demanded the settlement of the Moroccan Question by a European Conference. France was not willing to fight, since Russia, her partner in the Dual Alliance, had just been severely defeated by the Japanese in the Battle of Mukden, a fact which probably went far to account for the German attitude. The French Foreign Minister, Delcassé, was opposed to the German demand for a Conference, but he resigned, and the Conference met at Algeciras in January, 1906. France was backed not only by Russia and Great Britain but also by the United States, while even the other members of the Triple Alliance, Austria and Italy, were lukewarm in support of Germany. The sovereignty of the Sultan was recognised, but France and Spain were permitted to organise an "international police" in the ports, and France was authorised to control the Bank of Morocco. Although Germany had forced France to submit the Moroccan Question to an International Conference, that assembly had arranged matters more satisfactorily to France than to Germany. It is probable, moreover, that Germany expected that the question would be the means of sowing dissensions between Great Britain and France, and so of dissolving the Entente; any such expectation was disappointed.

The Eastern Question came to the front of affairs again in 1908, when the Young Turk party forced Abdul Hamid to grant a constitution to Turkey. Ideas of reform were in the air, which, if carried out, might affect not only Turkey itself but other states in the Balkans. It was possible, and even probable, that a reformed and regenerated Turkey would endeavour to recover territories in Europe which had been lost at different times in the nineteenth century. Bulgaria renounced the nominal sovereignty of Turkey, which had been imposed on her by the Treaty of Berlin, and Austria-Hungary, which had been permitted in 1878 to undertake the government of Bosnia and Herzegovina, now formally annexed these provinces. Serbia had for many years hoped for a union with Bosnia and Herzegovina, which were inhabited by Slavs; she now protested against Austrian action and was supported by Russia. A European war seemed imminent. But the German Emperor informed the Tsar that, if Russia assisted Serbia against Austria, Germany would aid her ally. Russia gave way, Serbia was forced to withdraw her protest, and the Austrian annexations were recognised by the powers. The incident was a victory for the might of the central powers.

Disorder reappeared from time to time in Morocco, and in 1911 a French force occupied Fez in order to protect the European residents. A German cruiser was sent to Agadir, and Germany appeared to be about to claim that port as a naval base. Great Britain bluntly asserted that she could not tolerate this, and the German demand was not pressed. Negotiations followed, as the result of which Germany recognised a French protectorate over Morocco and received a part of the French Congo as compensation.

The Balkan Wars of 1912–13, which resulted in the loss of much Turkish territory and the aggrandisement of Serbia, are described elsewhere. The course of events was viewed with disfavour by Austria. Her aim, of ultimately penetrating to the Ægean, was foiled by the Serbian acquisition of central Macedonia, and in the increase of Serbian power she recognised a menace to herself. It will be remembered that Austria in the nineteenth century had hoped to dominate the Italian and Balkan Peninsulas. Her power in Italy had been destroyed by Piedmont; she had no wish for Serbia to become a second Piedmont in the Balkans. A powerful Serbia might and probably would attempt to round off her territories by annexing the Slavic provinces in the south of the Dual Monarchy.

In June, 1914, the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian throne, was murdered at Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia. The incident provided Austria with an ideal pretext, since she chose to regard the murder as inspired by the Serbian Government. She delivered an ultimatum of such a character that Serbia could not possibly agree to it unconditionally, and she followed the Serbian request for arbitration upon two of its points by an attack upon Belgrade. Russia on this occasion did not give way and determined to support Serbia. Germany took up arms on behalf of Austria, and France prepared to help Russia. The European War began.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE EUROPEAN WAR OF 1914–1918

FOR many years before 1914 the statesmen of Europe had realised that it was not only possible but highly probable that at some future date a general war would take place. The outbreak occurred at the beginning of August, 1914. Its causes are to be understood only by a consideration of the history of the continent since the establishment of the German Empire. It will be convenient, however, to recapitulate them here.

France was beaten in the war of 1870–1, and the German Empire, proclaimed in 1871, was based on a military force which grew steadily greater year by year, until the German army was the most formidable military machine in the world. The object of German foreign policy during the last twenty years of Bismarck's rule was, by keeping France isolated, to render her powerless to undertake a war of revenge, and to that end were formed the League of the Three Emperors in 1872 and the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria, and Italy in 1882. But German foreign policy was modified after the retirement of the Iron Chancellor in 1890. Russia became less friendly with Germany, and in 1895 the Dual Alliance of Russia and France was announced. Henceforth, the five great powers of the continent were divided into two armed camps, each making the utmost effort, by rigorously enforced conscription, to increase its military forces and to extend its resources. Great Britain was not involved in either the Triple or the Dual Alliance, and for some years it was uncertain to which side, if to either, she would commit herself.

A great expansion of German industry and trade had taken place since the foundation of the Empire. Railways had been built and steamship lines had been established, both with substantial assistance from the state. Agriculture had been fostered, technical education had been developed, and scientific research had been encouraged. The resources of the state had been applied freely to the development of industry and commerce until Germany had become one of the greatest trading and manufacturing countries in the world. But this economic development was hindered by the absence of adequate colonial possessions, from which raw materials might be obtained and to which manufactured goods might be sold. Germany had entered late in the competition for overseas possessions. The most desirable regions had already been annexed by other powers, and she was able to acquire only what they had left. Germany wanted "a place in the sun," and, in all probability, it was the prospect of obtaining substantial colonial territories which would supply raw materials to, and provide markets for, the German manufacturer that reconciled German commercial interests to the war.

But colonial aggrandisement was possible only to a naval power, and from the beginning of the twentieth century the German Empire began the building of a navy which in a few years was in strength the second in the world. It remained only second, however, in spite of German efforts, since Great Britain built ships more rapidly than her rival, and retained her primacy. This naval rivalry, however, forced Great Britain to decide that her interests lay with France and Russia rather than with the Triple Alliance.

The Dual Alliance, however, was not converted into a second Triple Alliance. Great Britain cultivated friendly relations with France. Outstanding matters in dispute between them were settled, and in 1904 an Entente was established between them. Three years later the Entente became Triple through the conclusion of a Convention settling points of difference between Great Britain and Russia. But the understanding was at the most purely defensive. Until the outbreak of war Great Britain remained untrammelled, and if she had taken no part in the European War she would not have been guilty of disregarding treaty obligations towards France and Russia. (It was, as will be pointed out below, in fulfilment of treaty obligations towards Belgium that she entered the war.) British policy was to maintain peace, and it is certain that if either France or Russia had been guilty of provocative action towards the central powers British support would not have been forthcoming.

In the early years of the twentieth century the German Empire had pursued an active policy towards the south-east of Europe. German influence was considerable at Constantinople, and concessions had been obtained which pointed to the economic development, under German control, of the Asiatic provinces of the Ottoman Empire. Roumania and Bulgaria had kings of German family origin, and the King of Greece had married a German princess. Serbia, on the other hand, was a Slav state which looked to Russia for protection, and she was suspected and accused by Austria of fomenting trouble among the Slav peoples in the Dual Monarchy.

At the time of the war it was generally held in Great Britain that its occurrence was due to the ambition and determination of the German Emperor and of the military caste in Prussia. An opinion, however widely held, which is formed in the excitement of war can rarely be maintained when soberly examined after a lapse of a number of years, and it is now clear that many factors contributed to produce the conflict. But it is not possible altogether to absolve the German Emperor from responsibility. Before the war his reported utterances, including references to the "mailed fist," "shining armour," and the like, were often bellicose in tone. His actions in regard to Morocco were provocative, and an examination of the diplomatic history of the early years of the twentieth century, so far as it has yet been revealed, fails to convince the inquirer that the Emperor genuinely desired to avert war.

On two or three occasions in the decade before 1914 a European outbreak was narrowly averted, and it is possible that war was postponed on these occasions only because Germany was not quite ready. After the second Moroccan crisis, in 1911, both sides intensified their preparations. The work of widening the Kiel Canal, regarded in Germany as vital to the effective action of the navy, was pushed on, and both Germany and France further increased their military forces. In Germany great attention was paid to experimental work in connection with the development of aircraft, both aeroplanes and Zeppelins.

The crisis came without warning in June, 1914. The Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian throne, was murdered with his wife while on a visit to Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia. The murderer was a subject of the Austrian Empire, but of Slav race, and the Austrian Government chose to regard the murder as having been inspired by the Serbian Government. Austria delivered an ultimatum of such a character that Serbia could not possibly accept it unconditionally.

She accepted most of the Austrian demands, but on two points she asked Austria to agree to arbitration before The Hague Tribunal. Austria treated this as a refusal of the ultimatum and attacked Belgrade.

Sir Edward Grey, the Foreign Secretary of Great Britain, made strenuous efforts to preserve peace, or, failing this, to localise the conflict, but a general war proved to be inevitable. Russia determined to support Serbia, and mobilised her forces. Germany demanded that the Russian armies should be demobilised, and as this was not done she declared war. France entered the conflict in support of Russia. For the time being Italy, the third member of the Triple Alliance, remained neutral.

For a few days the attitude of Great Britain was uncertain. She was not committed definitely to the support of France and Russia, but her sympathies were on their side, and it is probable that she would not have remained passive while they were being defeated. Sir Edward Grey asked both France and Germany to declare that they had no intention of violating the neutrality of Belgium, which was guaranteed by the powers of Europe, including Prussia, by the Treaty of London, 1839. France gave the required assurance; Germany declined to answer, on the ground that a reply would disclose her plan of campaign. On 3rd August, 1914, German forces crossed the Belgian frontier, and a British ultimatum was sent to Berlin requiring the withdrawal of these troops within twenty-four hours. The demand was disregarded, and on 4th August Great Britain declared war.

The war, which began in August, 1914, and continued until November, 1918, was one of the greatest in the history of the world. The majority of the states of Europe and some in the other continents were drawn into it, and the magnitude of the effort put forth by the principal combatants was without parallel. In these pages it is possible to give only an outline of the course of events.

The German Empire was subject to attack from the east and from the west. The possibility of this had been foreseen by the German general staff for many years, and it had been assumed that the Russian attack would not develop so quickly as that from France. The German plan of campaign, therefore, was based on the assumption that it would be possible to deliver a crippling blow at France before the Russian menace need be met; the armies which were employed in overcoming the French might then be transferred to the eastern frontier to oppose the Russians.

The German armies invaded France by marching through Belgium, in order to avoid the fortifications on the Franco-German frontier. The extreme left of the line of defence was held by a British army under Field-Marshal Sir John French, and on its right extended the French armies. Both French and British were compelled to retreat before the German advance, and they were for a time in danger of being encircled and overwhelmed. The Germans pressed on and hoped to swing round and take Paris. But French and British attacked the extreme German right under Von Kluck and at the Battle of the Marne forced it to fall back. Parallel lines of trenches were established in eastern and north-eastern France and in Belgium from the Swiss border to the North Sea. These lines were held by German and Austrian troops against British, French, and, later, Americans, until the final collapse of German power at the end of the war. Fighting was more or less continuous along the whole of the western front for over four years, sometimes developing into great battles, more often consisting of monotonous and deadly bombardment.

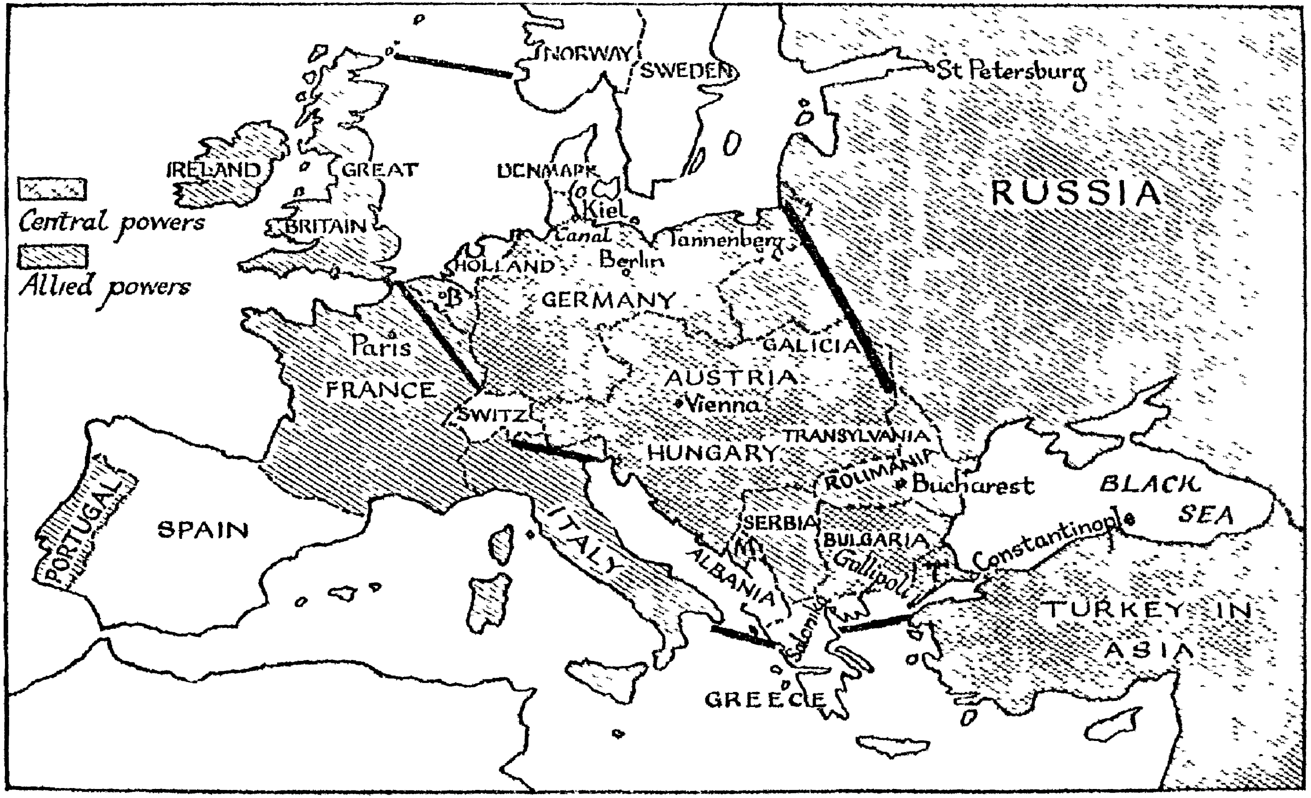
The Russian forces came into the field earlier than had been expected. They invaded both Germany and Austria, but they were badly equipped and were no match for their adversaries. In the Battle of Tannenberg they were defeated with very heavy losses by Hindenburg, but farther south they achieved some successes against the Austrians. They made further progress in Galicia in the spring of 1915, and an invasion of Hungary was threatened. If this had been carried through with great force it is probable that the Dual Monarchy, weakened by the discontent of its subject races, would have been unable to continue the struggle. And if Austria had collapsed Germany would have been condemned to fight without allies. It was of the greatest importance, therefore, for Germany to assist her ally, and in 1915 she attacked the Russians in great strength. Enormous losses were inflicted upon them, and they were compelled to withdraw from Austrian territories. It was necessary to reorganise and re-equip the Russian armies, and for this purpose the assistance of the western allies was necessary.

In the autumn of 1914 Turkey, in which for some years

German influence had been very strong, decided to join in the war on the side of the central powers. This was a serious blow for the western powers, which were now almost completely cut off from communication with Russia. The German fleet dominated the Baltic Sea, and Turkish shore batteries controlled the Dardanelles, which led to the Black Sea. A determined, but fruitless, effort was made by sea and land to capture the Gallipoli Peninsula, to force the Dardanelles, and to take possession of Constantinople. The forces, naval and military, which were sent to the Dardanelles when the attack was begun were inadequate, on account of the reluctance of military commanders to allow the western front to be weakened. It is now believed that if the attack had been pressed hard, with stronger forces, at the start, it would have succeeded. Supplies might have been sent to Russia by way of the Black Sea, and the Russian collapse which occurred in 1917 might have been averted. Turkey would have been forced to withdraw from the war; a new attack might have been launched on the central powers from the south-east; and final victory would have been achieved more quickly.

Greater success attended British operations against the Turks farther to the east and south-east. Mesopotamia was conquered after stubbornly fought campaigns, and though the Turks threatened the Suez Canal they were driven back. Allenby invaded and conquered Palestine, and for the first time since it was lost by the Crusaders Jerusalem passed into Christian hands.

Meanwhile, Italy entered the war early in 1915. In spite of her thirty years' membership of the Triple Alliance she had refused to support Germany and Austria in the previous year. She hoped to obtain "Italia Irredenta"—territories such as Trieste and the Trentino, which were inhabited largely by Italians but were in Austrian possession. Patriotic Italians felt that Italian unity would not be complete until the unredeemed provinces were added to the kingdom, and this sentiment turned the scale in favour of Italy joining the enemies of the central powers. The Italians had to fight on difficult ground. In 1916 they gained substantial successes, but in the following year the enemy broke through the Italian line and recovered what had been lost, and only with British and French help was northern Italy preserved from Austrian conquest. Nevertheless, Italy performed good service to the allied


▨ Central powers
▨ Allied powers
NORWAY
SWEDEN
St Petersburg
RUSSIA
IRELAND
GREAT BRITAIN
DENMARK
Kiel
Canal
Tannenberg
HOLLAND
Berlin
B
GERMANY
Paris
FRANCE
GALICIA
AUSTRIA
Vienna
SWITZ
TRANSYLVANIA
HUNGARY
ROUMANIA
Bucharest
BLACK SEA
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
ITALY
SERBIA
M
BULGARIA
Gallipoli
Constantinople
ALBANIA
Salonika
TURKEY IN ASIA
GREECE

THE ENCIRCLEMENT OF THE CENTRAL POWERS IN THE EUROPEAN WAR cause in retaining large Austrian forces which otherwise might have been used elsewhere at critical times.

The failure of the Dardanelles project lowered British prestige among the Balkan nations and perhaps contributed to influence the Bulgars to enter the war, in the autumn of 1915, on the same side as their hereditary enemies, the Turks. Roumania, however, decided to throw in her lot with the allied powers. In the autumn of 1916 her troops invaded Transylvania, but they were driven out and her territory was overrun. Bucharest fell into the hands of the enemy, and early in 1918 Roumania was forced to agree to humiliating terms of peace. It was feared that Greece would be induced to join with the central powers, which then would have an outlet through the Balkan Peninsula to the Mediterranean, but the presence of a British force at Salonika influenced the Greeks to remain neutral.

The central powers were thus surrounded on land by a ring of enemies—Belgium, France, Italy, and Russia—and their encirclement was completed by the British navy, the main part of which was concentrated in the North Sea, while the French and Italian navies, with some British support, dominated the Mediterranean. A blockade of the German coast, which became more and more effective as time went on, was maintained from beginning to end of the struggle. The German High Seas Fleet was stationed at Kiel, and in the early weeks of the war occasional surprise raids were made on the British coast by German cruisers. Such raids became less frequent, however, after the Battle of the Dogger Bank, in which a German battle-cruiser, the *Blucher*, was destroyed by a British squadron commanded by Sir David Beatty. The German high command at length endeavoured to end the blockade by meeting and destroying the British fleet. In the Battle of Jutland, on 31st May, 1916, both sides sustained severe losses. The tactics of the battle have been, and for many years will be, the subject of critical discussion, but that the fight was a British victory is evident from the fact that the German High Seas Fleet returned to port and emerged only to surrender at the end of the war, while the British fleet remained in undisputed command of the seas.

Although the blockade of central Europe remained unbroken, the German Government organised a counter-blockade of the British Isles. It was carried on by means of submarines, and very great losses were sustained by the British mercantile marine. Energetic measures were taken to meet this new menace, and the British navy proved adequate for the task. Many ingenious devices were brought into use for combating submarines, and before the war ended the danger from this form of warfare was definitely reduced.

In the early part of the war the United States was neutral, and a good deal of irritation was caused by the revival of the old question of the right of search. American merchant ships were escorted into British ports to be searched, in order that the continental blockade might be effectively maintained. In the United States there were mutterings which in other circumstances might have developed into war, but the Americans soon found a much more substantial grievance when the German Government sanctioned "unrestricted" submarine warfare, and permitted submarines to sink passenger vessels without warning. The United States entered the war in April, 1917. Friction over the right of search ceased, since the United States Government no longer permitted merchant vessels to leave its shores with cargoes intended for the enemy. A large American army was enlisted and trained, and did useful work in the last few months of the war, while the American fleet co-operated with the navy of Great Britain. The appearance of American troops in Europe had a great moral effect on the central powers, for it was evident that the substantial prolongation of the war would result in the presence of overwhelming American armies in the field.

The first signs of exhaustion and collapse came from Russia. The enormous losses sustained by the Russians brought their discontent with the *ancien régime* in Russia to a head. Revolution occurred, the Tsar was deposed and put to death, and, after a period of internal turmoil, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics was established. Russia withdrew from the war at the end of 1917; peace was made by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk early in 1918, and the central powers were enabled to transfer troops from the east to the sorely pressed west.

The last desperate efforts to secure victory were made by Germany and Austria in the spring of 1918. Freed from danger in the east, the central powers were able to make powerful attacks and to gain substantial victories in the west and against Italy. But in the main the allies stood firm. It was decided to place all the allied armies in the west under the command of Marshal Foch; under his direction lost ground was recovered, and at length trench warfare was abandoned and the line began to advance. The Germans fought desperately, but the strain upon them reached breaking point. The long blockade had resulted in a shortage in central Europe of all the necessaries of life, and the long struggle without decisive victory had sapped the morale of the beleaguered peoples. The resistance of Turkey and Bulgaria collapsed, and Austria followed them in asking for terms of peace. Germany held out longest, but in November, 1918, the German Emperor fled into Holland. The Empire itself was overthrown and was replaced by a republic, which asked for an armistice.

The British effort in this war was of far greater magnitude than in any previous conflict in British history. In other wars of modern times Great Britain had endeavoured to maintain her naval supremacy and to give financial aid to her allies; her military effort had been of less importance (except, indeed, in the Peninsular War). In the European War of 1914–18 her naval strength remained overwhelming; she gave or lent vast sums to her continental allies; and she built up an army which in neither size nor quality was inferior to the armies of Europe. Nor was the British effort limited to Great Britain. By all the self-governing Dominions of the British Empire assistance was offered to Great Britain immediately upon the outbreak of war. From Canada and South Africa, from Australia and New Zealand, large armies were sent to the battle-fields of Europe and elsewhere, and they contributed materially to the winning of ultimate victory.

The war that was waged from 1914 to 1918 differed from earlier wars in many respects. Artillery was used to a greater extent than on any previous occasion. More and heavier guns were used on both sides than in other wars, and the expenditure of ammunition was tremendous. It was said, and probably with truth, that the amount of ammunition consumed in a single day would have been sufficient to serve for a whole campaign in a nineteenth-century war. This rain of shells necessitated the development of trench warfare, since underground shelters were essential to protect the men from the effects of continuous bombardment. Poison-gas was used on both sides, but it proved to be uncertain in its effects, since a change in the direction of the wind occasionally caused it to drift back to those who had discharged it.

At sea mines and torpedoes were used with deadly effect in the blowing-up of ships, while, as submarines came more and more into use, many ingenious devices were invented to combat them. For the first time in history, war was carried on in the air. Air raids were planned to terrorise and destroy defenceless cities, and duels between opposing aeroplanes were of daily occurrence on the western front.

The casualties sustained during the war were much more numerous than in any previous war of equal duration. It would be useless to attempt to form an accurate estimate of the number of those killed and wounded on all fronts and in all armies. Perhaps ten or fifteen or twenty millions! In the fighting forces of the British Empire alone about a million men were slain or died from disease or from wounds, and millions of others sustained injuries, many of them being blinded or maimed.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE PEACE OF VERSAILLES

As early as January, 1918, Mr. Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, issued a statement of the conditions on which he would be prepared to consider the re-establishment of peace. These points were fourteen in number, and they included most, if not all, of the principles for which the allies had been fighting. Treaties were to be open and not secret, navigation at sea was to be free to all nations in peace and war, and armaments were to be reduced. Invaded territories in Belgium, France, Italy, and the Balkan States were to be vacated and "restored," and frontiers were to be rectified. Autonomy was to be granted to the peoples of the Dual Monarchy and of the Ottoman Empire, and Poland was to be reconstituted as an independent state. Finally, a League of Nations was to be formed as an organisation for the prevention of war in future.

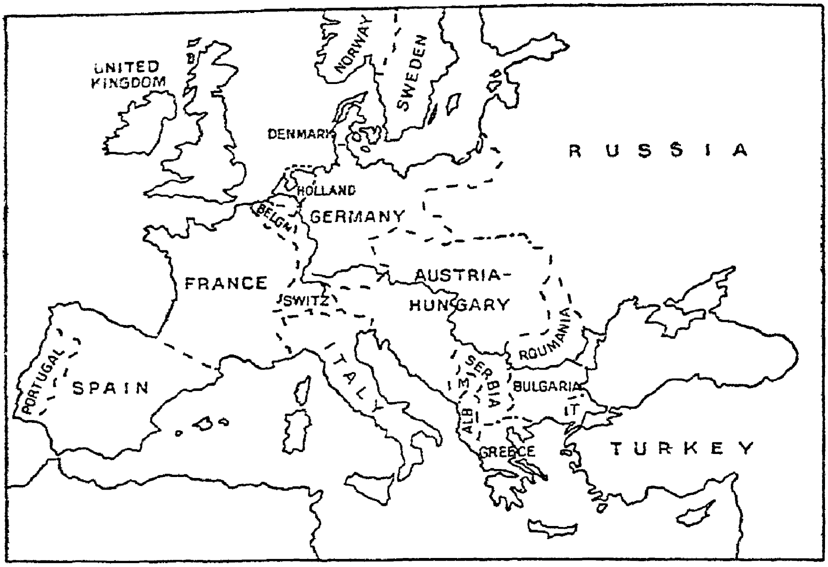
The collapse of the central powers was foreshadowed in September, 1918, by an Austrian appeal for discussion, but the President declined to consider peace on other terms than those stated in the Fourteen Points. Bulgaria, however, asked for an armistice at the end of September, when its King, Ferdinand, abdicated, and a month later Turkey followed the example of her ally. In the course of the month of October Germany and Austria separately appealed to Mr. Wilson to arrange for an armistice on the basis of the Fourteen Points. Great Britain, France, and Italy were willing to accept the Fourteen Points, subject to two amendments, as a basis on which to cease fighting. Great Britain insisted on retaining a free hand at the Peace Conference in discussing the "freedom of the seas," and the allies demanded that the enemy powers should, in addition to "restoring" occupied territories, make good all damage to the property of civilians by land, sea, or air. These modifications were accepted by the President and agreed to by the central powers, and armistice terms were drawn up by the allies on the basis of the Fourteen Points as amended. Before they were settled, the Governments of both the central Empires collapsed. The German Emperor fled into Holland on 9th November, and the Austrian Emperor, Karl, abdicated on 11th November. Republics were proclaimed in Germany, Austria, and Hungary.

The armistice was agreed upon and hostilities ceased on 11th November. German troops evacuated the invaded territories and Alsace and Lorraine, and withdrew to the right bank of the Rhine, to which river the allies were permitted to advance. The German fleet was surrendered, and large numbers of guns, aeroplanes, locomotives, and other material were handed over to the victors. All prisoners of war taken by the central powers were released. The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, which had been concluded between Germany and Russia in March, 1918, was cancelled, and the regions which had been given up by the Russians were to be at the disposal of the Peace Conference. A similar stipulation was made with regard to the Treaty of Bucharest, between Roumania and the central powers. These preliminary terms were demanded by the allies in order that, if fighting should be resumed, they might not be in a worse position than if it had not been interrupted.

The final terms of peace were embodied in a series of treaties, of which the most important, the Treaty of Versailles with Germany, gave its name to the settlement as a whole. The Treaty of St. Germain was concluded with Austria, of Trianon with Hungary, and of Neuilly with Bulgaria. A Treaty of Sèvres was arranged with Turkey, but it was not ratified, and the final terms agreed upon with that country were embodied in the Treaty of Lausanne.

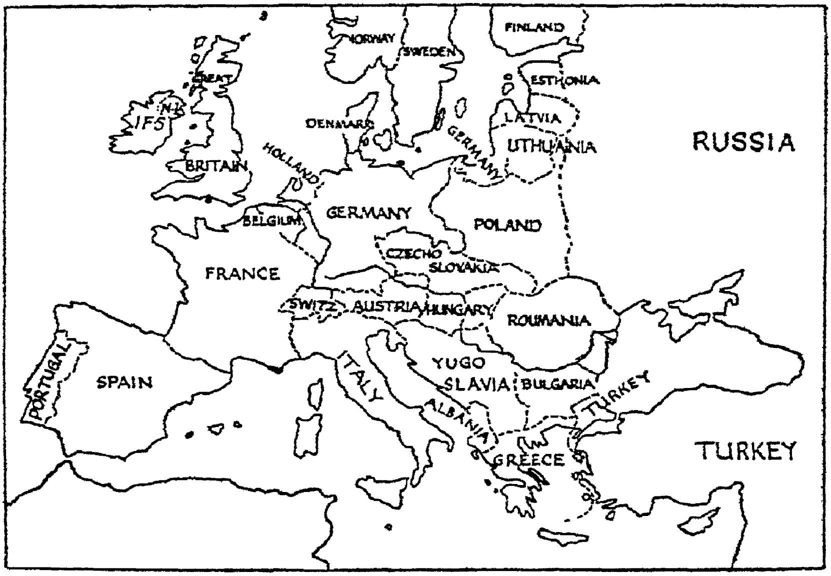
The Peace Conference was held at Paris in the early months of 1919. Russia had been out of the war for some time and was not represented in the assemblage of diplomats at the French capital. Great Britain and France, the powers which had made the greatest effort in the war, were represented respectively by Mr. Lloyd George and M. Clemenceau, but the greatest influence at the Conference was exerted by Mr. Woodrow Wilson. The Peace of Versailles was in the main the work of these three statesmen.

The first part of the work of the Conference was to draw up the Covenant of the League of Nations. This document set forth the aims of the League, prescribed the details of its organisation, and stated the conditions upon which the states of the world were to be invited to accept membership. The Conference decided that the Covenant should be included in each of the peace treaties, though, for the time being, and owing to the opposition of Clemenceau, the defeated countries were not to be admitted to the League.


UNITED KINGDOM
NORWAY
SWEDEN
DENMARK
RUSSIA
HOLLAND
BELG.
GERMANY
FRANCE
SWITZ.
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
ROUMANIA
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
ITALY
SERBIA
M
BULGARIA
ALB.
IT
GREECE
TURKEY

Europe in 1914

Much bitter controversy was aroused in the Conference on the subject of reparations. In the preliminary terms which the Germans had accepted before the armistice they had understood that they would be called upon to make good all damage done to invaded territories and also to the property of civilians elsewhere. But the people of France and Great Britain had been led to expect that the enemy powers would pay the whole cost of the war. President Wilson contended that such an extension of what had already been agreed upon would amount to a breach of faith. In the end a compromise was reached. In addition to the cost of restoring the devastated areas and making good the damage to civilian property, Germany was to be required to pay the amount of war pensions in the allied countries. Further, she was to take over the Belgian war debt. No sum of money was fixed, and a Reparations Commission was appointed to work out a scheme by which payments, extending over a period of years, should be made. In addition, Germany was to surrender the whole of her merchant ships of 1,600 tons or over, and many of her smaller vessels. For ten years she was to pay an annual tribute of coal to France, Belgium, and Italy, and the coalfield of the Saar valley was to be occupied by the French for fifteen years. Austria was required to give up her merchant fleet, and both Austria and Bulgaria were called upon to pay indemnities. An army of occupation was to be maintained in the Rhineland for a period of fifteen years.


FINLAND
NORWAY
SWEDEN
ESTHONIA
GREAT
LATVIA
N.I.
I.F.S.
DENMARK
GERMANY
LITHUANIA
RUSSIA
HOLLAND
BRITAIN
GERMANY
BELGIUM
POLAND
CZECHO
SLOVAKIA
FRANCE
SWITZ
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
ROUMANIA
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
ITALY
YUGO
SLAVIA
BULGARIA
TURKEY
ALBANIA
GREECE
TURKEY

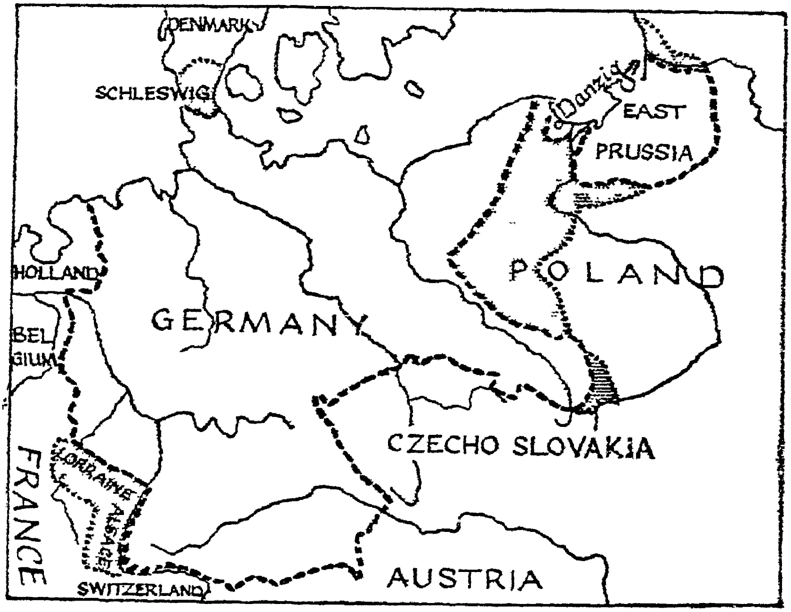
EUROPE IN 1930

As some guarantee against the early renewal of war the defeated powers were required to disarm. The German High Seas Fleet had been surrendered at the armistice and was interned at Scapa Flow. (In the spring of 1919 the ships were scuttled by their German crews.) A new German navy might be built, but the number and tonnage of the vessels were prescribed in the treaty, and submarines were not to be included. The Austrian navy was to be surrendered, and neither Germany nor Austria was to be permitted to build aircraft for purposes of war. Armies were to be limited, in the case of Germany, to 100,000 men; of Austria, to 30,000; of Hungary, to 35,000; and of Bulgaria, to 20,000. Compulsory military service was to cease, and recruiting was to be voluntary. These measures were treated as preliminary to a general reduction in the size of armaments throughout Europe, but no general reduction was made.

The territorial changes effected in the group of treaties were of a far-reaching character, and they concerned some neutral countries as well as the belligerents. There was some conflict of opinion with regard to the principles to be followed in making these changes. The ideal appeared to be a settlement in accordance with the principle of nationality; France, however, was anxious to secure a defensible frontier, without much regard to the nationality of the populations which might be transferred. The French desired to obtain the Rhine as their eastern frontier, a proposal which would have resulted in separating very large numbers of Germans from the Fatherland. A new "Alsace" would have been created. Germany would have looked forward to the recovery of her lost provinces, and the seeds of a future war would have been sown. The project was opposed by Mr. Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George, and M. Clemenceau, with great reluctance, abandoned it. The principle of nationality was thus recognised, and the changes were mainly agreeable to it. In several cases the final decision with regard to the allocation of a region was determined by a plebiscite of its inhabitants.

Alsace and Lorraine, lost by France in 1871, had been recovered by her at the armistice, and certain small districts were ceded to Belgium—in the case of one of them, Malmédy, after a plebiscite. The Saar valley, with valuable coalfields, was, as stated above, to be occupied by the French for fifteen years. Italy received from Austria certain lands which she had long coveted as essential for the completion of her unity—Trieste, Istria, the Trentino, and South Tyrol. She contended that their populations were Italian; actually, many of the people in these regions were German. Schleswig, which had been taken from Denmark in 1864, was permitted to decide its future destiny; North Schleswig voted for union with Denmark, while Central Schleswig determined to remain in Germany.

An independent republic was established in Poland, a century and a quarter after the extinction of the Polish kingdom. Difficulties were encountered, however, in determining its extent and boundaries. It was decided to include within it Russian Poland, Galicia (from the Austrian Empire), and most of Posen and West Prussia (from the German Empire). The Poles wanted Upper Silesia to be included also, but this was made subject to plebiscite, and as a result of the voting only part of the province was transferred. In order that the new Poland might have access to the sea it was at first proposed to add to it the city of Danzig, at the mouth of the Vistula. But the population of Danzig was mainly German, so that to give it to Poland would be a violation of the principle of nationality. It was ultimately resolved to make Danzig a Free City under the League of Nations, though Poland was to be permitted to use its docks and to control the railway to Warsaw. East Prussia was thus separated from the rest of Germany.


DENMARK
SCHLESWIG
Danzig
EAST PRUSSIA
POLAND
HOLLAND
BELGIUM
GERMANY
CZECHO SLOVAKIA
FRANCE
LORRAINE
ALSACE
SWITZERLAND
AUSTRIA

- - - - - - - - Boundary of Germany after 1919.
.... Boundary of Germany until 1914, where it differed from that of 1919

The shaded area represents territory lost by Germany.

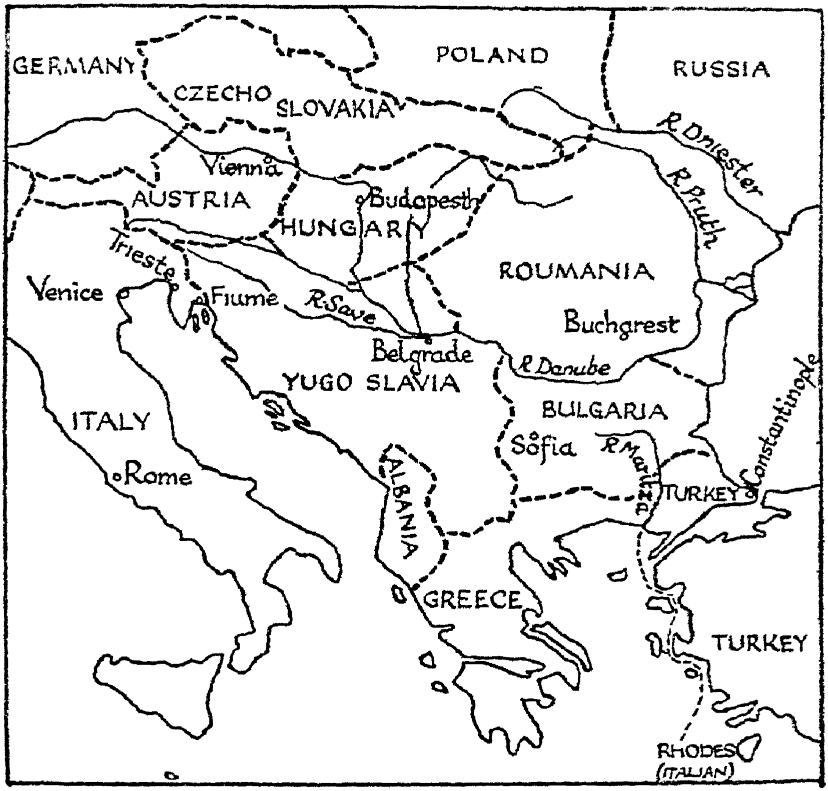
GERMANY BEFORE AND AFTER THE EUROPEAN WAR

Three new States, Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, were carved out of the Baltic territories of Russia, which had been lost to Russia and placed under German control by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. The independence of Finland, which had severed its connection with Russia in 1917, was recognised.

The whole of south-eastern Europe was rearranged. The Dual Monarchy disappeared, and substantial changes were made in the Balkan States. Austria, now a republic, was separated from Hungary. As already stated, she yielded Trieste, Istria, the Trentino, and South Tyrol to Italy and so lost her coastline, becoming entirely an inland state. Bohemia, with Moravia and some territory formerly belonging to Hungary, became the republic of Czechoslovakia. Austria was thus reduced to the status of a minor power, practically without resources, and she was forbidden to unite with Germany without the consent of the Council of the League of Nations.

Serbia received substantial accessions of territory, becoming a large and important country which was to be known henceforth as Yugoslavia. Montenegro was merged into the new state, which received, in addition, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia. Dalmatia was coveted by the Italians, who resented its cession to Yugoslavia. Hungary, also a republic, was much reduced in size by the loss of these provinces, and she was made still smaller by the cession of Transylvania to Roumania. Only the regions inhabited mainly by Magyars were left to her. Roumania received, besides Transylvania from Hungary, the provinces of Bessarabia and Bukovina from Russia, and she recovered from Bulgaria the Dobrudja, which had been given up by the Treaty of Bucharest. She thus became an important and powerful state, more than double her former size. Bulgaria was cut off from the Ægean and reduced in size. She was compelled to yield Strumnitza to Yugoslavia.

The Peace Conference kept the principle of nationality in mind in settling the frontiers of European states. It tried to arrange that, as far as possible, a state should contain people of one race and also that the whole of a nation should be included within a single state. But in some regions the peoples were mixed, and in such cases the future of the province was determined in accordance with the wishes of the majority of the people. The Conference was not unmindful, however, of the minorities left under alien rule. With Poland, Roumania, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia treaties were negotiated to safeguard the rights of minority races within these states. They were to be given full rights of citizenship, the right to the use of their own language (where this was not the official language of the state), and full religious freedom. The work of protecting minority races was assigned to the League of Nations, to which complaints of unfair treatment might be made.


GERMANY
POLAND
RUSSIA
CZECHO SLOVAKIA
R. Dniester
Vienna
AUSTRIA
Budapesth
R. Pruth
HUNGARY
Trieste
ROUMANIA
Venice
Fiume
R. Save
Bucharest
Belgrade
R. Danube
YUGO SLAVIA
Constantinople
ITALY
BULGARIA
Sofia
R. Maritza
Rome
ALBANIA
TURKEY
GREECE
TURKEY
RHODES
(ITALIAN)

South-East Europe, as settled by the Peace Treaties

By the Treaty of Sèvres Turkey was to retain in Europe no more than Constantinople and the region in its immediate neighbourhood, and the territories lost by it were to be added to Greece and Bulgaria. But the treaty remained unratified, and the settlement was modified in 1923 by the Treaty of Lausanne.

Austria and Bulgaria had no colonies, but Germany was deprived of her overseas possessions, while Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, and Arabia were removed from Turkish control. Arabia became independent, but the remainder of these German and Turkish possessions were placed in the charge of various states under mandates from the League of Nations. (An account of the mandatory system will be found in the next chapter.) Great Britain accepted mandates for Palestine, Mesopotamia (or Iraq), and Transjordan; the mandate for Syria was assigned to France. In Africa, France took mandates for most of Togoland and Kamerun, while Great Britain was responsible for the remainder of Togoland and Kamerun and for Tanganyika (German East Africa). German South-West Africa was put in the charge of the Union of South Africa. In the Pacific the mandate for German New Guinea was given to Australia and that for Samoa to New Zealand, while Nauru was placed under the joint control of Great Britain, Australia, and New Zealand. The Caroline Islands were placed in the charge of Japan.

The settlement effected by the Peace of Versailles was thus of the most far-reaching character. Former political boundaries were obliterated, the defeated countries had to submit to serious reductions of territory, and several new states were brought into existence. Financial sacrifices of great magnitude were demanded of the vanquished powers, and they were required to disarm.

Some of the criticism which has been levelled against the Peace of Versailles is, no doubt, deserved. Much of it, however, is ill-directed. Though some of the details of the peace terms were ill-advised and some of the principles followed proved impracticable, the treaties represented an honest attempt to secure a fair and lasting settlement.

The failure of the western powers to come to a complete understanding with the Bolshevik Government of Russia rendered the settlement less satisfactory than it might have been. Internal fighting was going on in Russia, and the opponents of the Bolsheviks were being openly or secretly supported by some of the states which were represented at the Peace Conference. No solution of the problem of the relations of Russia with the rest of the world was reached, and in that respect the settlement was incomplete.

To some extent the attitude of the allies at the Conference was open to criticism. Germany and her associates had agreed to the armistice on the assumption that the peace terms would be based on the (amended) Fourteen Points drawn up by Mr. Wilson. In so far as the terms, as finally settled, departed from the Fourteen Points (as amended) they constituted a breach of faith. The attempts of France to secure the Rhine frontier, of Italy to obtain Dalmatia, and of Poland to include the whole of Upper Silesia could not be justified on grounds of nationality, and although a compromise was reached on each of these questions the desires of victorious powers for territorial aggrandisement were not consistent with loyalty to the Fourteen Points.

The Fourteen Points contemplated some scheme of general reduction of armaments and fighting forces, alike by victors and vanquished. The enforced disarmament of the latter was not followed by any similar measure on the part of some of the former, and their continued refusal to deal seriously with the matter led to the suspicion that they were preparing for further wars. Competition in armaments began again, and the possibility of future wars could not be ignored. (But this criticism should not be applied to Great Britain; she reduced her forces, naval, military, and aerial, to such an extent that in the early part of the war of 1939–45 she was in serious danger of defeat.)

The decisions with regard to reparations, financial and otherwise, met with much adverse comment. Apart from the question of the extent to which they were consistent with the terms of the armistice, it was contended that their enforcement would ruin both those who paid and those who received. The compulsion to pay immense sums of money, or their equivalent in goods, for many years, would dishearten the Germans and their allies and would encourage thoughts of a war of revenge. And, since these immense payments must, in practice, be made in goods and not in bullion, their receipt would involve unemployment, trade depression, and loss of prosperity among the victors.

It was contended, moreover, that the terms of peace, financial and territorial, could hardly have been more severe had peace been concluded with the Imperial German Government. But Germany had become a republic, with a really democratic and responsible Government, and this might have been taken into account as affording some ground for modifying the severity of the terms of peace.

That the geographical details of the settlement would please everybody could not be expected, but one feature, in particular, was discreditable to the allies. No Christian population within the Turkish Empire had suffered more from time to time than the Armenians in Asia Minor. During the war Great Britain had pronounced in favour of freeing them from Turkish rule, but when the final settlement was reached with Turkey at Lausanne this expectation was not fulfilled, and they were left at the mercy of the Turks.

Yet, if much can be said in criticism of the peace, much more can be said in its praise. The history of the nineteenth century is filled with the aspirations and attempts of subject races in various parts of Europe to secure their independence. Here and there success had already been achieved, but in no previous treaty had so much been done at one time to liberate oppressed peoples and either to establish them in independent states or to place them under neighbouring Governments of their own race. Poles and Croats, Czechs and Letts, Finns and Alsatians, and people of many other races, were released from subjection to alien rule. In no previous settlement had so much attention been paid to the principle of nationality, and the taking of plebiscites in some of the provinces in dispute ensured that the destiny of the peoples of these regions should be decided in accordance with their own wishes. At the same time an effort was made to ensure that the reasonable rights of minority races, in such matters as citizenship, religion, and language, should be respected, so that the repression of subject races, which was a common feature of nineteenth-century European history, should not be continued. That the settlement was undertaken in the interests of peoples and not of monarchs was sufficient to distinguish it from previous international agreements.

It had been a feature of some earlier treaties of peace that colonial possessions had passed from vanquished to victors. Such territories had been regarded as transferable without reference to the wishes of the native populations concerned. By the system of mandates established in the peace treaties it was recognised that races of a lower degree of civilisation were not without rights and that, while they might properly be supervised by more advanced powers, they ought not to be exploited for the benefit of their rulers.

The most valuable feature of the treaties, however, was that which was devoted to the establishment of a League of Nations for the preservation of peace in the world. The war had been called "a war to end war," and, though the critics of the peace used the phrase ironically in calling attention to the flaws in the settlement, it should be remembered that a definite organisation was brought into existence to deal with these and other causes of conflict that might arise in the future. As will be shown in the next chapter, the new organisation proved to be ineffective in the execution of its task. Nevertheless, the attempt to arrange for the settlement of international disputes in the future on principles of reason and justice instead of by appeals to force affords by itself sufficient ground for regarding the Peace of Versailles as beginning a new era in the history of the world.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

THE European War of 1914–18 was of such magnitude, its casualties were so heavy, and the economic disturbance caused by it was so profound, that it was felt to be necessary to take such steps as were humanly possible to prevent its repetition. It was the duty of the statesmen at the Peace Conference at Paris and Versailles to avert such a catastrophe. The idea of a League of Nations for the preservation of peace was mooted by President Wilson in the fourteenth of the Fourteen Points. It was elaborated by a number of the leading men of the United States, including Mr. Lansing and Colonel House, and of the British Empire, notably Lord Robert Cecil, General Smuts, and Lord Phillimore. The labours of these men were considered by the Covenant Committee of the Peace Conference, and as a result the Covenant of the League of Nations was evolved, and was embodied in all the peace treaties.

It is possible that many of the members of the Peace Conference, trained in the methods of the older diplomacy, regarded the idea of a League of Nations as fantastic and unworkable, but they all agreed to it. The independent nations of the world were invited to accept membership of a League of Nations, which should have its headquarters at Geneva. The great aim of the League was to be the prevention of war, and every member-state undertook not to go to war without first submitting the matter in dispute to the League for its consideration, and not to declare war until three months had elapsed after the League had pronounced upon the dispute. Should any member-state violate this undertaking, other members were to be free to take action against the offender by the imposition of such sanctions as an embargo on trade, a blockade, and the employment of force. It was expected that a nation which contemplated warlike action against its neighbours would hesitate before committing itself to a conflict in which it might be opposed by most of the civilised powers in the world.

The League was called into existence to deal with disputes between nations, but it was not empowered to interfere in the domestic affairs of a state. Rebellion and civil war were not matters about which it was entitled to take action, and a monarch whose throne might be threatened by revolutionary activity among his people would not be able to call upon the League to settle the matter. In this respect the League differed from the Holy Alliance which followed the Congress of Vienna. Both desired to maintain the peace of Europe; the Holy Alliance, however, regarded war as the logical outcome of revolution, and did not hesitate to intervene in the affairs of any country in which rebellion occurred.

Members of the League promised to renounce secret diplomacy by depositing at Geneva copies of all treaties into which they entered. Power was given to the League to call attention to treaties which might become dangerous to peace and to invite the states concerned to revise them.

The Assembly of the League, the body to which important questions were to be referred, and by which decisions were to be made, contained representatives of all member-states; it was to meet at Geneva every year in September. But, as the membership of the Assembly was large and it could not readily be called together more than once a year, much of the business of the League was transacted by the Council of the League, a smaller body which was to meet three times a year, and which could be called together at any time if need should arise. The Council was to consist of "permanent" members representative of the great powers, with a number of "non-permanent" members, elected from time to time by the smaller states. Its actual composition was changed several times after its establishment.

The manifold activities of a modern Government could not be carried on without the assistance of an efficient civil service. In the same way, the work of the League of Nations necessitated the establishment at Geneva of a Secretariat, which employed a number of men and women as a "permanent international civil service."

It was realised by those who organised the League that disputes must assuredly arise between nations, and that if they were to be settled without recourse to war some means of dealing with them must be devised. At the first session of the Assembly of the League it was decided to establish a Court of International Justice, to sit from time to time at The Hague, and a number of judges were appointed to it. Disputes between nations might be referred to the Court for settlement in accordance with the principles of international law and with the provisions of treaties existing between the parties to the dispute. To the end of 1936 the Court had dealt with seventy-one cases. Of these, forty-three were disputes to be settled judicially instead of, possibly, by recourse to arms; the remaining twenty-eight cases were requests for advisory opinions.

Another important feature of the work of the League was the International Labour Organisation. In the more advanced countries of the world the conditions of labour improved enormously during the nineteenth century, but in some other parts work was still carried on under very unsatisfactory conditions. An International Labour Office was opened at Geneva, and efforts were made to bring industrial conditions in the more backward countries up to the level of those prevailing elsewhere. A scheme of Draft Conventions, covering such topics as wages, hours of work, vocational training, the employment of young persons and women, and the safety and welfare of workers, was drawn up. By March, 1941, the scheme was complete, with no fewer than sixty-seven Conventions; although these were binding only on those states which had ratified them, ratifications of some or other of the Conventions had been received from fifty states, and further ratifications were occasionally received.

The work of the League of Nations included the supervision of the mandatory system. Many people felt that the acquisition of colonies by European nations in time past was undertaken for selfish reasons only, and that too little attention was paid to the interests of the native races in the regions annexed. If the precedent set in some former treaties had been followed in 1919, the colonies of the defeated powers would have been seized by the victors, who would have used them for their own advantage. A different course was followed. The whole of the German colonial possessions, and certain provinces of the Turkish Empire, were taken and were placed under the direction of other powers under mandates from the League of Nations. By the acceptance of a mandate an advanced country undertook the government and guardianship of a backward region, with a view to its political and economic development. The essential difference between this and the older system of colonisation was that the mandatory system was undertaken primarily for the benefit of the native population rather than of the power which held the mandate. The mandatory power was expected to submit annually to the League a report on the progress of the province under its control. It was hoped that in due course the peoples ruled under mandates would make such progress that a continuance of the system would be unnecessary, and that they would become eligible for membership of the League.

Valuable work was done by the League of Nations in some other directions. The influence of the League was used for the suppression of slavery wherever, and in whatever form, it was found still to exist in the world. The traffic in dangerous drugs was brought under control by international action organised by the League. Technical commissions of the League dealt with such matters as international communications, finance, economic problems, and public health. Efforts were made, though, it must be admitted, with little success, to reduce, or at least to prevent a further increase in, the tariff barriers which hindered the world's trade.

From what has been written above it may be observed that the Covenant of the League of Nations did not, by itself, absolutely prohibit war. Members of the League undertook to submit disputes to the Council and not to declare war until three months had elapsed after the decision of the Council had been announced. A period would thus be secured for reflection. National passions would have time to cool, and the probability of an outbreak of war would be lessened. But it was possible that a state which was dissatisfied with the decision of the Council of the League might resort to arms when the period of delay had expired. There was thus a "gap" in the Covenant.

Mr. Kellogg, the United States Secretary of State, drew the attention of the Governments of the world to this loophole in the existing arrangements for the prevention of war, and he suggested that they should agree "to renounce war as an instrument of national policy." A treaty, known as the Kellogg Pact, or the Pact of Paris, was drawn up and accepted, in August, 1928, by most of the civilised states of the world. Its importance was twofold. It was agreed to by two important countries, the United States and Russia, which were not members of the League. And it was complementary to the Covenant of the League in that it filled up the "gap."

In the first decade of its existence the League appeared to be effective for the main purpose for which it was called into being, in that it was successful in stopping several wars which were on the point of breaking out. In each case the incidents which might have developed into causes of war appeared to be trivial, but history provides many examples of wars caused by circumstances which seemed to be trivial. The League was unable to intervene in the wars between Poland and Russia, in 1920–21, and between Greece and Turkey, in 1920–2, but in each case one of the countries at war was a non-member of the League, and both outbreaks might be regarded as connected with matters left over from the European War. A dispute between Finland and Sweden with regard to the possession of the Aaland Islands was referred to the League, whose decision was in favour of the Finnish claims. A similar dispute between Poland and Lithuania concerning the Vilna district was decided in favour of Poland. In each of these cases the loser protested, but no war followed.

A much more serious quarrel occurred, in 1923, between Italy and Greece. Certain Italian commissioners who were engaged in settling the boundary of Albania were murdered by bandits on Greek territory. The Greek Government asserted that the murderers were Albanians; the Albanian Government said that they were Greeks. But the Greek Government was responsible for maintaining order within its own borders, and Italy seized the island of Corfu. War appeared to be imminent, and the Italian Government, treating the affair as one in which national honour was involved, refused to submit it to the Council of the League. But Italy at length consented to refer it to the Council of Ambassadors of the powers at Paris, and a settlement was reached. It was felt that the prestige of the League had suffered, but the League Council approved of the course taken, and the fact that war was averted was regarded as of greater importance than the exact means by which this result was attained.

A still more serious incident occurred in 1925. A quarrel of soldiers on the frontier between Greece and Bulgaria was followed by a Greek invasion of Bulgarian territory. In time past wars in which many nations had been involved had been started by events no more important than this. But on this occasion the League Council met promptly. The Bulgars were enjoined not to resist, and the Greeks were called upon to withdraw their troops from Bulgarian territory. Both sides obeyed, and the dispute was settled by the League, whose prestige was greatly enhanced by its success in stopping a war which had already begun.

In spite of its early promise, it can hardly be maintained that the League fulfilled the expectations of its most enthusiastic supporters. It signally failed to persuade the great powers of the world to reduce their armaments. Measures of naval limitation were agreed upon in 1922 and 1930 by Great Britain, the United States, France, Italy, and Japan. The success of these agreements, and the conciliatory and pacific atmosphere in international relations engendered by the conclusion of the Kellogg Pact, encouraged the hope that negotiations on a wider scale might meet with success.

A Disarmament Conference was held at Geneva in 1932, and the problem was discussed for several months. The delegates were no doubt in earnest, but from the first there was an air of unreality about the proceedings. Success could not be hoped for in the absence of mutual confidence, which was lacking. Various methods of disarmament were discussed. Proportionate reduction was proposed—that all powers should agree to reduce their existing forces by one-half or one-third or one-fourth. Another suggestion was the prohibition of certain types of warfare, such as submarine attack and aerial bombing. A third basis on which it was hoped that agreement might be reached was financial—that the total military expenditure of a state should be kept within an agreed limit. None of these plans was adopted, and the Conference adjourned to 1933. By this time Germany, which demanded equality with other European powers, was in a bellicose mood; she withdrew from the Conference, was persuaded to return, and finally withdrew from the Conference and the League itself. A further session of the Conference in 1934 was equally without satisfactory result, and the powers of the world engaged in an armament race compared with which that which preceded 1914 seemed trivial.

The later history of the League is a tale of hesitancy, half-hearted action, and declining prestige. For this state of affairs several reasons might be suggested.

In the first place, the League was based upon an idealism for which the world was hardly ready. The conception of a world-brotherhood, transcending all national feelings, was noble and praiseworthy. The League encouraged this ideal; its founders assumed that the civilised states of the world would co-operate to promote it. Yet in the post-war world the spirit of nationalism proved to be as strong as ever. In one state after another the ideals of the League were brushed aside whenever they conflicted with national interests, and the cry of "national honour" was treated as sufficient ground for disregarding the most solemn international engagements.

The League was weakened by the non-adhesion or the withdrawal of several of the great powers of the world. The United States declined to enter it, although the American Government co-operated with the League in various aspects of its work. Germany did not become a member until 1926, and in 1933 she withdrew. Russia was not admitted to the League until 1934, although she, too, had been associated with some of the work of the League. The militaristic activities of Japan and Italy were inconsistent with membership of the League, and they withdrew from it. The League still contained over fifty member-states, but most of these were of minor rank, and there appeared to be some ground for the assertion that it had become an Anglo-French organisation for the promotion of British and French interests.

The organisation of the League was based on the assumption that the territorial settlement of the world made at Versailles in 1919 would be final. (Article 10 of the Covenant stated that members would respect the territorial integrity and political independence of all other members.) Territory might be ceded by one state to another by agreement, but no other possibility of change was considered. A series of maps of Europe showing the political condition of the continent every ten years for the past thousand years would probably show that no two of these maps were absolutely identical. It should not have been so readily assumed that the arrangements made at Versailles represented finality, and that modifications would never be required. One of the principles of the Versailles settlement was that of racial self-determination. But the principle could not be applied completely. Although many small states were brought into existence it was found impossible to cut Europe up in such a way that no "minorities" were left under alien rule. These minorities aspired to independence or to union with neighbouring states whose people were akin to themselves. In this respect the settlement contained the seeds of future trouble with which the League was inadequately equipped to deal.

A further reason for the failure of the League lay in the reluctance of its members to act up to their obligations. In times of crisis they were disinclined to apply the sanctions which were to be used for the prevention of war. For this, governments were not altogether to blame. No government, at least no government in a democratic state, could apply the policy of sanctions against another state unless it had a strong backing of public opinion, and this was sometimes lacking. Apart from the unlikelihood of a state being willing to act against another state with which it had long been in alliance, there was a natural disinclination to take action which might lead to war for the purpose of preventing war.

The early prestige of the League was gained by its action in disputes in which the states concerned were small. When the Japanese invaded the Chinese province of Manchuria and established the subject-republic of Manchukuo the League took no effective action. Its failure to act against Japan convinced Mussolini that he had nothing to fear from it when he was preparing to conquer Abyssinia. The League discussed the Abyssinian problem, and after some months some of the members imposed sanctions upon Italy. Supplies of certain commodities were withheld from Italy, but she obtained all that she really needed for the war. A League which would compel small states to keep the peace but which hesitated to act against great powers forfeited all claim to respect. Statesmen and common people alike lost faith in it, and the outbreak of a great war in 1939 was the mark of its final failure.

Perhaps the most sinister reason for the decline of the League lay in the refusal of great powers to honour their pledges and obligations. Treaties were violated; pledges were ignored. The history of the years 1932–9 is a dismal record of violations of treaties solemnly drawn up and of acts of aggression by powers which had solemnly renounced war as an instrument of national policy. The Kellogg Pact, which had been accepted by nearly every state in the world, was not merely dead; it was forgotten. This was, of course, not the fault of the League, as such, but it was evident that neither the League of Nations nor any other organisation for the maintenance of peace would be of value until reliance could be placed on the pledged word of its members.

CHAPTER XXIX

EUROPE BETWEEN TWO WARS

The conclusion of the great European War found Europe exhausted and impoverished. The passions roused by four years of bitter conflict were slow to die down. Many problems remained unsettled. It was uncertain whether Germany would meekly submit to loss of territory and the payment of an enormous indemnity or whether she would seize a favourable opportunity of repudiating the terms of peace and renewing the war. The Governments of some European countries were threatened by the activities of Communists. The relations of Russia with the rest of Europe were not yet settled. Some years were yet to elapse before the final terms of peace with Turkey were even agreed upon.

In its early years the existence of the German republic was threatened by both Monarchists and Communists. The one faction intrigued to restore William II or to enthrone his son; the other schemed to overturn the existing capitalistic organisation of society and to form a close alliance with Russia. Neither was successful, and in course of time a republican constitution was drawn up for the country by a National Assembly at Weimar. The provinces (no longer called kingdoms or duchies) of Imperial Germany were retained. The powers of the Reichstag were extended; it was elected by universal suffrage (male and female) and ministers henceforth were responsible to it. The old Bundesrath, which represented the princes, was replaced by a Reichsrath which represented the provinces. At the head of the state was a President directly elected by the people. The first President was Friedrich Ebert.

In 1921 the Reparations Commission announced the total of the amount which, in accordance with the Treaty of Versailles, Germany was to be required to pay. It was fixed at £6,600,000,000 sterling, and it was to be paid in sixty-six annual instalments of £100,000,000. The amount was to be secured on customs revenues and in other ways. The prospect of having to pay this enormous sum was viewed in Germany with dismay, and in view of grave financial difficulties the German Government asked for a delay of two years before the payments should begin. But the French declined to permit postponement, and they sent an army into the industrial region of the Ruhr. Employers closed their factories and workmen went on strike, but the French forcibly reopened factories and continued production. The German Government at length submitted and agreed to begin to pay reparations.

It soon became clear, however, to the creditor nations that it was to their interest to have the reparations question settled in such a way that trade and prosperity might return. They realised that it was not to their advantage to compel Germany to pay sums so enormous that she would be ruined. In 1924 a scheme was drawn up by an international committee, under the leadership of an American, General Dawes. The total amount of the reparations payments was left unchanged, but the amount of the instalments was varied. Beginning at £50,000,000 per annum, they were to be increased year by year until they reached £125,000,000 per annum; provision was made, however, for varying the instalments in future according as Germany proved to be able to pay more or less. The Dawes plan was accepted and was put into operation, and the Ruhr was evacuated. The working of the Dawes plan was, however, not entirely satisfactory, and in 1929, at an international conference held at The Hague, it was decided to modify it in accordance with the proposals put forward by Mr. Owen Young. The acceptance of Germany of the Young plan was followed by the withdrawal of the army of occupation.

In 1925 President Ebert died, and in his place the German nation elected Paul von Hindenburg, a field-marshal who had been a popular figure during the war, and who had defeated the Russians at the Battle of Tannenberg. Hindenburg had always been regarded as a monarchist, and some apprehensions were aroused by his election. But he remained loyal to the republic, and the fact that a former supporter of the Hohenzollerns became its head increased its stability.

The acceptance of the Dawes plan by Germany and the withdrawal from the Ruhr by the French led gradually to improved relations between the two countries, and it became possible to consider the restoration of Germany to the status of a "great power" in Europe. In 1925 Germany offered to sign a treaty of security with regard to the Franco-German frontier.

At Locarno it was agreed by Great Britain, France, Germany, and Italy that the existing Franco-German frontier should be permanently maintained. (Germany thus definitely renounced all claim on Alsace and Lorraine.) If either France or Germany attacked the other, the remaining signatories to the pact would oppose the aggressor. Germany signed security pacts at the same time with Poland and Czechoslavakia. Frontiers were not guaranteed, but it was agreed that if changes of boundary were desired they should be sought peacefully. The Locarno agreements were followed, in September, 1926, by the admission of Germany into the League of Nations.

A notable feature of German history between the two wars was the rise of the National Socialist, or Nazi, party, under the leadership of Adolf Hitler. The secret of Hitler's success lay in his appeal to German national sentiment. His immediate aims were the disavowal of German responsibility for the European War, the discontinuance of reparations payments, the rearming of the German nation, the recovery of the lost German colonies, the reunion with Germany of all territories in Europe which were inhabited by people of German race—the abrogation, in fact, of every factor in the Versailles settlement which might be regarded as in any way derogatory to Germany, together with the fullest possible restoration of her status as a great power.

The economic crisis with which the world was faced in 1931 and 1932 turned to the advantage of the Nazi party in Germany. Under the rule of Hindenburg as President and Stresemann as Chancellor a real effort had been made to work the Weimar constitution and to meet the instalments due under the Dawes plan. The nation had hoped that prosperity would follow the general international appeasement which might be expected to result from this attempt of Germany to honour her obligations. Instead, Germany found herself faced with insuperable financial difficulties, and she derived little consolation from the knowledge that other countries also were embarrassed. The emergence of a party which proposed to discard onerous obligations thus occurred at a time when the nation was specially willing to give it support.

Herr Stresemann died in 1929 and was succeeded as Chancellor by Herr Bruning, who carried on the pacific policy of his predecessor in circumstances of increasing difficulty. Nazi membership of the Reichstag, which had been insignificant before 1930, increased in that year to 107 seats in an assembly of 584. The political advancement of Herr Hitler was thenceforth rapid, and in March, 1932, he was a rival candidate to Hindenburg for the presidency. The Field-Marshal was re-elected, but Hitler secured 13,000,000 votes to Hindenburg's 19,000,000. During the summer Nazi representation in the Reichstag increased to 230. Brüning resigned the Chancellorship, and after a couple of stop-gap ministries the President was compelled, in January, 1933, to confer the leadership of the Government on Hitler.

In March, 1933, another general election was held, and, a week before the day appointed for the polls, the Reichstag building was destroyed by fire. The Nazis attributed the crime to Communist influences, and the opportunity was seized to organise a *coup d'état*. Communist deputies to the Reichstag and other prominent members of the Communist party were arrested, and the nation was exhorted to entrust the Nazis with the task of saving Germany from Communism. The elections resulted in the return of a majority for the Nazis and their allies, and the new Reichstag met only to suspend its own existence and to endow Herr Hitler with dictatorial powers.

From that time the Government of Germany was a dictatorship, naked and avowed. The Reichstag was summoned now and then merely to listen to declarations of policy by Hitler and to give formal sanction to his proposals. Only official candidates were permitted to offer themselves for election, and for all practical purposes the Reichstag ceased to exist.

Much of the strength of the Nazi party in the earlier days of the movement was derived from the existence of a body of "storm-troopers," which formed a kind of Nazi private army. Captain Röhm, Chief of Staff of this organisation, was in June, 1934, concerned in an intrigue against Hitler, who, however, proved to be more than a match for his enemies. Hitler acted with vigour against the conspirators, of whom a large number were executed. After this event his authority was unchallenged.

President Hindenburg died in August, 1934, and Hitler thereupon combined the presidency with the chancellorship; he was known by the title of Führer, or Leader.

Nazi internal policy was characterised by the brutal persecution of Jews and of all opponents of the established *régime*. Attempts were made to control religious teaching in the interests of the state. The attitude of the German Government towards Roman Catholicism and Lutheranism evoked the hostility of members of both these religious bodies. The power of Roman Catholicism throughout the world was still considerable, and the Führer thought it inadvisable to push his quarrel with the Papacy to extremes. The Lutherans, however, without external support, suffered severely for their faith.

The measures taken by Hitler and the Nazis between 1933 and 1939 in preparation for a new war are described in the chapter on that war.

The years following the firm establishment of Hitler in power witnessed various stages in the accomplishment of the full Nazi programme. Germany withdrew from the League of Nations; she renounced the disarmament clauses of the Treaty of Versailles, and she re-established a conscript army, navy, and air force; she occupied a demilitarised zone on the left bank of the Rhine. From time to time the Fuhrer reiterated demands for the return of former German colonies, demands which were met in Great Britain by a programme of rearmament.

The Austrian republic, as approved by the peace treaties, was a small and unimportant state, which contained one large city, Vienna. It had lost its coastline, and it had neither industries nor resources sufficient to maintain its population. Within a year or two large numbers of people were dangerously near to starvation. The League of Nations assisted Austria to reorganise her finances and re-establish her industries and trade, and she was thus rescued from utter collapse.

By the terms of the peace Austria was forbidden to unite with Germany without the consent of the Council of the League of Nations. In 1931 an agreement for a close Customs Union between Germany and Austria was drawn up. It aroused the apprehensions of other powers, however, since it could be regarded as a step preliminary to union, and the attention of the Council of the League was drawn to it. In view of the hostility of France and some other powers to the proposal it was at length withdrawn.

Hitler was an Austrian by birth, and was specially desirous of bringing about a union of Austria with Germany. A Nazi party in Austria was encouraged in various ways, not least by broadcast propaganda from Munich, and many members of the Heimwehr (the party opposed to Socialism in Austria) were known to possess Nazi sympathies. Herr Dollfuss, the Austrian Chancellor, was anxious to preserve the independence of his country, but he was forced to rely upon the support of the Heimwehr in the suppression of a Socialist outbreak, and the Nazis increased in strength.

Propaganda was checked for a time as the result of a joint declaration by Great Britain, France, and Italy on the necessity of maintaining Austrian independence. In July, 1934, an attempted Nazi *coup d'état* resulted in the murder of Herr Dollfuss. The attempt to overthrow the Government failed, however, though there was ground for suspicion that it had German approval. But the movement of Italian troops to the Austrian frontier led to an official German disavowal; it was evident that the time was not yet ripe for the absorption of Austria by Germany.

In course of time Italian preoccupations in Abyssinia and Spain made it possible for the German Government to renew its designs. In March, 1938, Austria was invaded by German troops and, in utter disregard of yet another stipulation in the Treaty of Versailles, was declared to be incorporated in the German Reich. That this action was not followed by a European War can be explained, in part at least, by the fact that the union received the approval of a large part of the Austrian people.

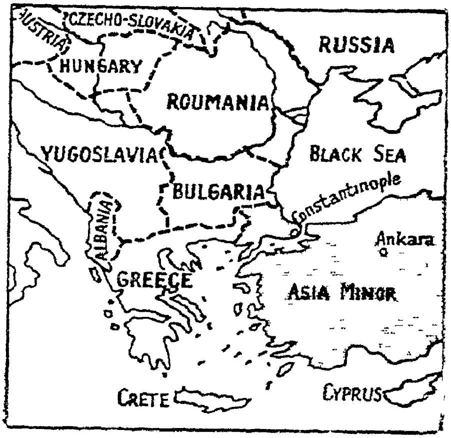
The Hungarian republic was frequently in a disturbed condition in the early years of its existence. As early as 1919 Communists under the leadership of Bela Kun gained the upper hand, and for a short time they ruled the country. But the Communist Government received little support and soon collapsed. The three neighbours of Hungary—Czechoslovakia, Roumania and Yugoslavia—which had gained territories at her expense feared that the fall of the Communists might be followed by the restoration of King Karl and an attempt to recover lost lands, and they formed the "Little Entente" to prevent the restoration of the Hapsburg family in Hungary. Two attempts were, in fact, made in 1921 to restore Karl, but, chiefly owing to the attitude of the Little Entente, they were unsuccessful, and Karl died shortly afterwards. The country passed under the rule of a monarchist, Admiral Horthy, who assumed the title of "Regent" (for an absent king, it is to be supposed), but no further attempt was made to enthrone a Hapsburg.

It has already been pointed out that terms of peace with Turkey were drawn up and included in the Treaty of Sèvres. It was proposed to leave to the Turks, *in full sovereignty*, only Constantinople and its vicinity, and the highlands of Asia Minor. Territories in Europe which were to be taken from the Turks were to be assigned to Bulgaria and Greece, while the shores of the Dardanelles were to be placed under an international commission and the fortifications were to be dismantled. A region in the west of Asia Minor, including the city of Smyrna, was also to be assigned to Greece. The Armenians were to be freed from Turkish rule. (It was originally proposed to offer an Armenian mandate to the United States, which, however, declined it.) Iraq, Palestine, and Syria were to be separated from the Turkish Empire and placed under mandates, while Arabia became independent.

But delays occurred, and the situation was changed by certain happenings within the Turkish Empire itself. A Nationalist party came into existence, and a provisional Government was set up at Ankara by Mustapha Kemal Ataturk. The Sultan was deposed, and a Turkish republic was established in 1923. A vigorous Government at Ankara could not be coerced so readily as a feeble Government at Constantinople. To compel it to accept the terms of the Treaty of Sèvres would necessitate another war, and the powers of western Europe were unwilling to undertake further fighting. Terms of peace were, therefore, revised, and the Treaty of Lausanne, 1923, was much more favourable to the Turks than the original draft had been. Turkey retained the European territory which was in her possession at the outbreak of war in 1914, and also the Smyrna region in Asia Minor, and she retained control over the Armenians, though the arrangements set out in the Treaty of Sèvres with regard to the provinces farther east and south were continued.

The new Turkish republic adopted western ideas. A Government constitutional in form was set up, though the President, Mustapha Kemal Atatürk, exercised dictatorial authority. Unlike other dictators, however, he was not aggressive, and used his power for the good of the country and its people. The Legislative Assembly was elected by universal suffrage, male and female. Until the sultanate was abolished the Sultan of Turkey was Caliph, the head of the Mohammedan religion, but the Caliphate was ended and religious toleration was proclaimed. The old Turkish script was abolished and the western alphabet was brought into use. Upon the death of Mustapha Kemal Atatürk in 1938 Ismet Inönü became President. (Turkey remained neutral during the war of 1939–45.)

The activity of the Italians in the Mediterranean, and especially in the eastern part of that sea, caused some uneasiness to the Turkish Government, which in 1936, with the consent of the Council of the League of Nations, began the refortification of the Dardanelles.



THE BALKANS—AFTER THE TREATY OF LAUSANNE, 1923

After the revolution of 1917 the Communists (or Bolsheviks) became the dominant party in Russia. During the first two or three years of their supremacy various efforts, all unsuccessful, were made to overthrow them, and a certain amount of assistance, official and unofficial, was given by foreign powers to their opponents. They, in their turn, endeavoured to stimulate Communist movements in other European countries, especially in Great Britain, Germany, Hungary, and Italy. The poverty and distress which existed after the war among the working classes on the Continent were favourable to the spread of Communist ideas, but, nevertheless, the Bolsheviks met with little success in their efforts, and although a Communist Government was set up in Hungary it was shortlived. The Bolsheviks regarded all "capitalistic" Governments as their opponents, but the failure of each side to overthrow the other led to a more or less grudging recognition on both sides. The new *régime* in Russia was formally recognised by France and Great Britain in 1924, and it has been indirectly recognised by most other countries in the conclusion of treaties or the re-establishment of trade relations.

The rule of the Bolsheviks is still the subject of controversy, and no decided judgment can be passed upon it at present. That it has been accompanied by atrocious cruelty can hardly be denied. The supporters of the *ancien régime* were exiled or put to death; the Orthodox Church was disestablished, and its clergy underwent great sufferings, though whether this was entirely on account of their religion or was to some extent due to their political activity is not clear. (Some degree of freedom of religious worship has recently been restored.) It was long contended by the opponents of the Bolsheviks that their attempt to conduct the industries and the agriculture of Russia on Communistic lines was a failure, and that many people were on the verge of starvation. It may be observed, however, that extreme poverty existed under the Tsars, that political prisoners were cruelly treated by them, and that when the Orthodox Church was in power it sanctioned the persecution of Dissenters and Jews. It is not to be thought that the evils of Tsarist rule can excuse the excesses of the Bolsheviks; rather, the proper inference to be drawn is that the long agony of the Russian people under their former rulers was followed by a period of great violence on the other side. Only with the passage of time can revolutionary hatreds be expected to diminish and calmer counsels to prevail.

In 1928 a "five-year plan" for the development of Russian industry was inaugurated. To what extent it was successful it is difficult to state, since most of the reports on its working have been partisan in character. Nevertheless, in 1931 it was announced that the plan had met with such a degree of success that its aims would be accomplished by 1932, a year before the date originally fixed, and that a second five-year plan would be arranged for the period 1933–8.

Russia was seriously perturbed by the growth of National Socialism in Germany. The Nazis were utterly opposed to Communism; they refused even to consider the establishment of friendly relations with Russia; and they were known to be contemplating the annexation of the Ukraine. The course of Russian foreign policy was necessarily affected. Non-aggression pacts were concluded between Russia and her immediate neighbours; membership of the League of Nations, with a permanent seat on the Council, was sought and obtained; and an alliance with France, as in the twenty years before the war of 1914–18, was negotiated. This was achieved with some difficulty, since the French Government had no sympathy with

Bolshevik ideals, and France had suffered heavy financial loss by reason of the Bolshevik repudiation of Russia's pre-war debts. The alliance was viewed with dislike by Great Britain, and for a time Franco-British friendship was strained.

Russia also had to face trouble in the Far East. In 1931–2 the Chinese province of Manchuria was occupied by Japanese, who established the subject-republic of Manchukuo, which in 1934 was transformed into an Empire. This action was a serious menace to Russian interests, and necessitated the maintenance of strong Russian forces in the Far East. China appealed to the League, which, after delays, conferences, and further delays, condemned Japanese aggression, but took no further action. Japan was thus able to act in defiance of the League, from which she withdrew at this time.

One of the points arising out of the war and not finally determined by the Peace Conference was the settlement of the eastern coast of the Adriatic. Italy demanded the Peninsula of Istria, with the ports of Trieste and Fiume, on the ground that the people of the region were of Italian nationality, and she claimed Dalmatia also, although here the Italian population was in the minority. But the Dalmatian claim was probably advanced because it seemed good policy, in a dispute, to ask for more than was really expected. It was likely that Italy would be prepared to sacrifice her claim to Dalmatia if thereby she could be assured of receiving Istria with its ports. But Yugoslavia was unwilling to give up Fiume, which was the only outlet for her trade towards the Adriatic. The Peace Conference left the matter for direct negotiation between the two states, a proceeding which might have resulted in war between them. In 1920 an Italian adventurer and poet, Gabriele d'Annunzio, with a band of volunteers, seized Fiume without the sanction of the Italian Government. In the end, however, Italy and Yugoslavia reached agreement on the matters in dispute, and by the Treaty of Rapallo, 1920, Istria was assigned to Italy and most of Dalmatia to Yugoslavia, while Fiume was to become an independent Free City open to the trade of both nations. A year or two later this arrangement was modified, and Fiume passed into Italian possession, but the right of Yugoslavia to use it for commercial purposes was recognised.

The Italians were dissatisfied with the peace settlement, and for a time Communist propaganda made progress. Strikes occurred, and the Government was too weak to suppress disorder. The deplorable condition of the country led to the development of the Fascist movement, in opposition to the Communists. The Fascists, or Black Shirts, under the leadership of Mussolini, marched upon Rome and demanded control of the Government. The King assented, and Mussolini became dictator of Italy, being known as the Duce. The Fascists suppressed all opposition to his rule, which, during his first few years of power, was marked by a series of economic and social reforms.

Perhaps Mussolini's most conspicuous success was the settlement of the sixty-year-old quarrel between Italy and the Papacy. When the Italians seized Rome in 1870 the Pope, Pius IX, retired into the Vatican in protest against his loss of Temporal Power. The Italian Government offered to make a large annual payment to the Pope; the offer was disregarded and the money was not claimed. The kingdom of Italy was not recognised by the Pope, and Catholics in Italy were even directed to abstain from taking part in elections, although, in course of time, this boycott of Italian politics was quietly dropped. Succeeding Popes, Leo XIII, Pius X, Benedict XV, and Pius XI, maintained the same attitude to the kingdom of Italy, but in 1928 and 1929 informal negotiations took place between Mussolini and representatives of the Vatican. These resulted in agreement being reached. A small area in the vicinity of the Vatican was recognised as being papal territory; it is known as the "Vatican city," and is under the absolute sovereignty of the Pope. In return, the Pope recognised the kingdom of Italy.

Mussolini pursued a vigorous foreign policy, and his bellicose speeches were not calculated to contribute to European appeasement. For some years, however, it seemed that they were designed chiefly to rouse the spirit of the Italian people, and that the Duce was unlikely to involve his country in war. Italy was one of the signatories of the Kellogg Pact in 1928.

For some time the interests of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy were in conflict. The Tyrolean regions ceded to Italy by the Peace of Versailles contained a population partly German, and it was an avowed object of Nazi policy to recover all such lands for Germany. On the occasion of the premature Nazi attempt on Austrian independence in 1934 Italian troops were moved to the Austrian frontier, and only the German disavowal of complicity in the proceedings of the Austrian Nazis prevented an outbreak of hostilities.

In March, 1935, Germany formally announced the reintroduction of conscription, in defiance of the Treaty of Versailles, and in April a conference was held at Stresa at which Great Britain, France, and Italy agreed to form a "united front" against German aggression.

But Italian foreign policy was already taking a new turn. The internal condition of Italy was deplorable. Trade was declining; poverty and unemployment prevailed everywhere; the expenditure of the state, swollen by the cost of military and naval expansion, could be met only with difficulty; bankruptcy loomed ahead; discontent was appearing which might turn to revolution and the overthrow of the Fascist *régime*. A spectacular foreign adventure might turn the attention of the Italian people from their troubles at home, would provide employment for Italian forces, might result in the acquisition of important colonial possessions, and would enhance the prestige of Italy as a great power. Mussolini decided to undertake the conquest of Abyssinia.

Relations between Italy and Abyssinia had not been unfriendly before 1934. (Italy had even, in 1922, supported the Abyssinian application for membership of the League of Nations, when Great Britain had taken the opposite course on the ground of the continued existence of slavery in Abyssinia.) The raids of Abyssinian tribesmen on Italian Somaliland offered a pretext of which the Duce took advantage, and in the autumn of 1935 Italian troops crossed the Abyssinian frontier.

In view of the failure of the League of Nations to prevent the Japanese conquest of Manchuria Mussolini doubtless felt that little was to be feared from Geneva. Nor did he anticipate any resolute opposition from Great Britain or France, with which powers he had recently formed the Stresa front. The League wrestled with the Abyssinian problem, and after months of delay most of its members agreed to the imposition of certain sanctions against Italy. Of certain supplies she was deprived, but she continued to receive the commodities which were really essential for the prosecution of the war, which proceeded through the early months of 1936 to a triumphant issue. The blame for the failure of a really effective sanctions policy is to be attributed to M. Laval, the French Foreign Minister, who was determined, in the interests of France, not to do anything which would cause the break-up of the Stresa front and drive Italy into alliance with Germany. Laval even induced Sir Samuel Hoare, the British Foreign Secretary, to agree to proposals of mediation which would have involved the cession of large parts of Abyssinian territory to the aggressor. But public opinion in Great Britain was roused against this iniquity; Sir Samuel Hoare was compelled to resign, and it required all the astuteness of Mr. Baldwin to avert the collapse of his administration.

These events had served to irritate Italy without diverting her from her purpose, and for the next two years Great Britain and Italy were on unfriendly terms. At the same time Germany and Italy came to an understanding, which, however, fell some way short of being a formal alliance. The menace to British interests in the Mediterranean and Egypt involved in Italian occupation of a land which controlled the sources of the Nile was evident; moreover, fears were entertained for the safety of the Suez Canal and even of Malta. Italian intervention in the Spanish Civil War did nothing to ease the situation. Early in 1938, however, proposals were made for the lessening of the tension between the two powers. Mr. Anthony Eden, Sir Samuel Hoare's successor as Foreign Secretary, was disinclined to attempt to come to terms with Italy while Italian troops remained in Spain. The Prime Minister, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, took a different view, and Mr. Eden resigned. The new Foreign Secretary, Lord Halifax, inaugurated "conversations" which, by Easter, 1938, resulted in agreement being reached on all important points.

Spain, the most important of the countries which were neutral in the war of 1914–18, experienced much difficulty in subjugating a rebellion of the Riffs in Spanish Morocco. Heavy losses were incurred, and public resentment was aroused at the inefficiency of the Government. In 1923 an army officer, General Primo de Rivera, became dictator in Spain, and the constitution was suspended for some years. But the dictatorship was not popular, and plots and revolts were organised against it. Primo de Rivera at length resigned, but the effect of the discontinuance of the dictatorship was that the discontent of the people was now aimed directly against the monarchy. Republican feeling spread; mutinies, revolts, and plots continued to occur. In April, 1931, the King, Alfonso XIII, felt that he could no longer maintain his position. He gave up the throne and left the country, and a Spanish republic was proclaimed, with Señor Caballero as President.

In the summer of 1936 the Government of Spain was faced with a formidable military revolt led by General Franco. Republican Spain was regarded by its opponents as Socialist, even Communist, in character; "Nationalist" Spain was undeniably Fascist in its aims. Both sides received help from abroad; munitions and equipment were received by Franco from Germany and Italy and by Caballero from Russia, while "volunteers" for one side or the other poured in from nearly every country in Europe. A cynical observer remarked that "the Spaniards were no more than spectators of a miniature European War being fought in their country." British opinion was divided, the Communist tendencies of the one side and the Fascist leanings of the other being equally detested, and British official policy was directed towards the localisation of the conflict by pressing for European agreement on "non-intervention." Conferences were held and committees were set up. It cannot be maintained that any genuine agreement to refrain from intervention was ever reached, but it may be conceded that the continuance of negotiation and discussion on the subject contributed to the prevention of the spread of the war to the whole of Europe. The British policy of non-intervention worked to the disadvantage of the republicans, since they received no help from Great Britain, while their opponents were aided by Italy and Germany. By 1939 the Spanish republic was overthrown and Franco became dictator of Spain.

Many European thrones were overturned at the conclusion of the war of 1914–18 and in subsequent years. The representatives of the most famous families in Europe—Hapsburg, Hohenzollern, Romanoff, and Bourbon—ceased to rule, and republics were established in many countries. At one time it seemed that an age of universal democracy was dawning, and that the aspirations of the multitudes who in the nineteenth century strove for liberty in Europe were at last to be realised.

This promise of a new age was not fulfilled. It is doubtful whether the rapid introduction of democratic institutions among peoples unaccustomed to them was likely to be attended with success. (The smooth working of parliamentary government in Great Britain follows upon seven centuries of trial, experiment, and development.) Moreover, popular government came to Europe at a time when the continent was impoverished and unsettled. It did not result in the immediate improvement of the condition of the masses of the people. Dissatisfaction with its results led, as has been shown, to the establishment in several countries of dictatorships.

There were weaknesses in the position of the dictators. Their power, unlike that of the monarchs of past years, rested upon no age-long tradition. The dictator had to be up and doing; from the nature of things he had to be bellicose in his public utterances; in short, he had to justify his existence. He was not immortal; yet if he trained a successor he might be encouraging a rival. He was necessarily suspicious of men who might aspire to replace him. In the end, the war of 1939–45 brought dictatorship into sharp conflict with democracy, and democracy triumphed.

CHAPTER XXX

THE WORLD WAR OF 1939–1945

THE war which began in August, 1914, took the world by surprise. It should not have done so; the grouping of the powers of Europe into two rival leagues and the continual increase in their forces should have warned all men that war was bound to come. Close students of international affairs no doubt realised that these preparations for war could end only in war, but most people were so much occupied in the routine of their daily lives and were so entirely accustomed to a state of life in which war had no part that they could hardly believe in the possibility of a life and death struggle in Europe. They knew that minor wars might, and did, take place against savage tribes in distant lands; to most people a general European war seemed impossible.

The war which began in September, 1939, took nobody by surprise. In spite of the existence of the League of Nations and of the hope that the earlier war had been "a war to end war" the twenty years between the two conflicts had been a period of "uneasy peace." While the army of occupation had remained in Germany a renewal of fighting had been impossible. The army of occupation was withdrawn in 1929, and during the next few years the Nazi party, founded by Adolf Hitler, grew so rapidly that in March, 1933, Hitler became dictator—soon to be known as the Fuhrer, or leader.

Though Hitler was very careful to conceal his real purpose—to fight a war of revenge and to become master of Europe—he made no secret of his immediate aims. He stated that he wished for nothing more than to restore a humiliated country to her rightful place among the nations. He intended to discontinue reparations payments, to re-arm the nation, and to recover (by peaceful negotiation) the lost German colonies and the former German territories in Europe. And he declared again and again that he had no intention of going to war.

The payment of reparations ceased. Conscription was reintroduced; the German army was increased, and guns, tanks, and military equipment of all kinds were produced in great quantities. The small standing army of long-service men allowed to Germany by the Treaty of Versailles provided a body of non-commissioned officers who were of great value in training the new recruits. A new German navy, of battleships, cruisers, destroyers, and submarines, was built, and a new German air force was established. The work of rearmament was carried on rapidly and, to a great extent, in secret. For some years other powers were unaware of its magnitude.

It can hardly be doubted that if other powers had acted firmly when German rearmament was in its early stages it could have been prevented. But the powers were unwilling to go to war or even to threaten to fight, and for some years European statesmen believed, or acted as though they believed, in Hitler's good faith. By the time they had found out his real aim it was too late; Germany was fully armed. For a year or two they followed a policy of "appeasement." As German power increased, Hitler's demands became more pronounced, and the statesmen of other countries tried to avert or postpone war by yielding to them as far as possible.

In 1936 German troops marched into the Rhineland, which in the Treaty of Versailles had been declared to be a "demilitarised" zone. At the same time Hitler announced that this was not intended as a preparation for war and that he was prepared to guarantee peace in Europe for twenty-five years. Other powers took no action, and early in 1938 German troops entered Austria, which was annexed to Germany—another violation of the Treaty of Versailles.

By this time Hitler felt strong enough to demand the "rectification" of the frontiers of Germany by the recovery of those territories which had been lost to her by the Treaty of Versailles. The Sudetenland, a part of Bohemia, had been within the Austrian Empire until its collapse in 1918. It was now part of Czechoslovakia. It contained a considerable minority of Germans, who, according to Hitler, were being oppressed by the Czech Government, and in September, 1938, he demanded that it should be ceded to Germany. It seemed likely that war would break out, for the Czechs were ready to defend their territory, and France and Russia had promised to help them if they were attacked (though it was by no means certain that they would keep their promise). Great Britain had given no such promise, but if France and Russia became involved in a war with Germany she could hardly remain neutral, since if they were defeated she would be the next to be attacked. War was averted for the moment by the action of Mr. Neville Chamberlain, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, who worked hard to maintain peace and flew three times to Germany to meet Hitler. Perhaps the Führer was not quite ready for a European War, for at Munich he entered into an agreement with Mr. Chamberlain which he certainly did not intend to keep. It was arranged that the Sudetenland should be ceded to Germany, and in return Hitler promised to take no more Czech territory. A pledge was given by both sides that all future disputes between Great Britain and Germany should be settled by peaceful negotiation. Mr. Chamberlain returned home from Munich, like Disraeli sixty years earlier from Berlin, to claim that he had brought "peace with honour."

There was even less reason to accept the claim on this occasion than in 1878. Though the people of Great Britain were relieved to learn that war had not broken out, many men agreed with the assertion of Mr. Winston Churchill that the Munich agreement constituted a "total unmitigated defeat" for Great Britain. In fact, the cession of Czech territory without Czech consent was hardly to be described as "with honour"; the peace which followed the Munich agreement lasted only eleven months.

Yet it would be unfair to put on the statesmen of the time the whole of the blame for what happened in the years before the outbreak of war. The British nation as a whole was responsible. When German troops marched into the Rhineland in 1936 there was a widespread feeling that the Germans were doing what the British would have done in similar circumstances, and that a movement of German troops in German territory did not justify a declaration of war. If Mr. Baldwin, at that time Prime Minister of Great Britain, had declared war he would not have been supported by a united nation. Suspicion of Germany was much stronger by 1938, but the annexation of Austria was allowed to pass because it was believed to have taken place with the consent of the Austrian people. And at the time of the Munich agreement there were still many people who hoped that Hitler would keep his word and that war would be averted.

"Peace with honour" was not followed on either side by any slackening in the preparations for war. The military strength of Great Britain had been reduced for many years, and only since 1936 had there been some slight increase in the navy and the Royal Air Force. After Munich more substantial increases were made, and in the spring of 1939 conscription for the army was introduced. There can be no doubt that German preparations during the same period were much more intense, and that the inequality of German and British armaments was greater in September, 1939, than in September, 1938.

In March, 1939, German forces occupied the whole of Czechoslovakia, which became completely subject to Germany in violation of the recent agreement. Resistance was put down firmly, even brutally, and many Czechs were shot and others sent to German concentration camps. Until this event it had been possible for the statesmen of Great Britain and other countries to profess to believe in Hitler's good faith and to hope, by appeasing him, to avert war. The policy of appeasement was now shown to be a total failure. Hitler's most solemn promises were worthless. His real aim—the mastery of Europe—was now clear. War was no longer in doubt; only the date of the outbreak was uncertain.

During the summer of 1939 Hitler turned to Poland and Danzig. The narrow stretch of territory, known as the Polish corridor, which connected Poland with the Baltic Sea, separated East Prussia from the rest of Germany. The Poles were entitled to use the port of Danzig, at the end of the corridor, but Danzig, with its population mainly German, was a city under the direct control of the League of Nations. Hitler wanted to annex Danzig and the corridor in order to connect East Prussia with Germany, and he suggested the construction of a military road, for German use, across the corridor. The Polish Government refused its consent, as was to be expected, and the British Government, at last abandoning its policy of appeasement, announced that it would guarantee the integrity of Poland. If Germany attacked Poland Great Britain would fight.

For a time Hitler hesitated. If Great Britain made war on Germany, France and Russia would do so as well; and he did not wish to fight in the east and in the west at the same time. Ever since he had been in power Hitler had expressed his dislike of Russia, and, while asserting his wish for the friendship of the western powers, he had always refused to make any agreement with the Bolsheviks. He now changed his policy, and in August, 1939, it was announced that a treaty of friendship and neutrality had been arranged between Germany and Russia. Each power promised not to attack the other, so that, for the time at least, Hitler had nothing to fear on his eastern frontier. He was now ready to act.

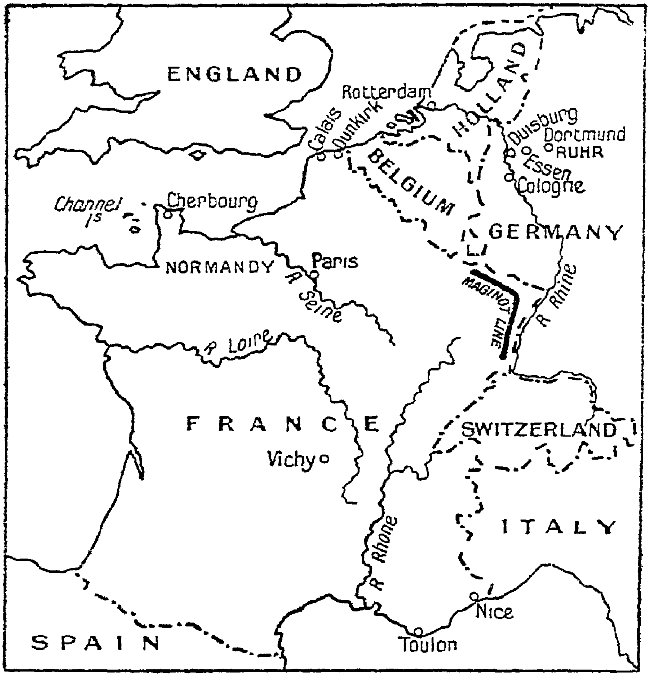
On 1st September, 1939, German troops in great force invaded Poland without warning, and Warsaw suffered a heavy air-raid. Great Britain sent an ultimatum to Berlin requiring Germany to withdraw her forces from Poland at once. This was disregarded, and on 3rd September Great Britain declared war. France and all the British Dominions, except Eire, joined in the war at once.

There is some reason to believe that the British declaration of war was not expected in Berlin. On several occasions during the previous few years British statesmen had given in to the Fuhrer, who may have thought that this would happen once again. He may have thought that Great Britain was bluffing and that it would be safe to call her bluff. The same mistake was made by the Germans in 1914, and on both occasions they discovered that Great Britain was in earnest.

The fighting in Poland did not last long. The country was invaded by Russians from the east as well as by Germans from the west; probably the Germans were not pleased with this. The Poles fought with great courage, but their position was hopeless. Poland was conquered, but the Germans had to share their prize with their allies. In view of the British guarantee of Polish integrity the failure of Great Britain to declare war on Russia also at this time has never been explained.

In the autumn of 1939 war broke out between Russia and Finland. The Russians demanded a stretch of Finnish territory on the ground that its possession by them was necessary for the safety of Leningrad. In the light of future events it may be assumed that the Russian Government had no faith in German protestations of friendship, and thought that at some future time the Germans would use Finland as a base for an attack on Leningrad. The Russians conquered the region they wanted, and peace was made with the Finns in December, 1939. Not long afterwards the Baltic republics of Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania were "admitted into the Soviet Union"; in other words, Russia annexed them.

The war in the west developed on lines similar to those of the war of 1914–18. A British army landed in France and assisted in the defence of the Maginot line of fortifications behind the Franco-German frontier. On the German side of the frontier was the Siegfried line, and it seemed likely that the trench warfare of 1914–18 would be repeated in this war.


ENGLAND
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Calais
Dunkirk
Duisburg
Dortmund
RUHR
Essen
Cologne
BELGIUM
Channel Is
Cherbourg
GERMANY
NORMANDY
Paris
R. Seine
MAGINOT LINE
R. Rhine
R. Loire
FRANCE
SWITZERLAND
Vichy
ITALY
R. Rhone
Nice
SPAIN
Toulon

WESTERN EUROPE, 1939–45

There was little aerial activity during the winter, but a naval blockade of Germany was established, while British merchant shipping was attacked by German surface raiders and submarines. Naval and aerial activity was organised against the submarine menace, which continued until the end of the war. (During the whole period at least 996 submarines, and probably many more, were destroyed by British and allied forces.)

New developments occurred in the spring of 1940. In April of that year German troops occupied Denmark, which offered little resistance, and Norway, which resisted vigorously but without success. In May Hitler stated that he did not intend to attack Holland and Belgium; a day or two later both countries were invaded. The Dutch defended their land with their traditional stubborn courage, and flooded parts of it by opening the dykes, but German strength was too great for them. Rotterdam suffered one of the most terrible air-raids of the whole war, and Dutch resistance at length collapsed. The Belgians also fought with vigour until their King, Leopold III, submitted to the enemy. Both countries were completely occupied; their Governments, with that of Norway, took refuge in Great Britain.

The way was now open for a German invasion of France from the north-east. The position of the British army in France and Belgium was extremely critical; it seemed probable that it would be surrounded and either captured or destroyed. By superhuman efforts it forced its way to the coast at Dunkirk; guns and equipment were abandoned; it was subjected to ceaseless attack from the air. Many hundreds of craft of all kinds, large and small, crossed the Channel from south-east England and embarked the men, and in four or five days over 300,000 men were brought back to England. The evacuation of the British army from Dunkirk was one of the most remarkable achievements of the war, made possible only through the miraculous calmness of the sea at the time and the stubborn and heroic rearguard fighting by which the enemy were held back at Calais and elsewhere.

The whole weight of German attack was now directed against France. The French had relied for defence upon the strength of the Maginot line. But this line covered only the Franco-German frontier; it did not run along the Franco-Belgian frontier as well. Too late, the French realised their folly when the Germans repeated the strategy of 1914 by marching through Belgium and passing the end of the Maginot line. The French fell back in disorder; the Germans occupied Paris, and the French Government capitulated. Mr. Churchill, who had become Prime Minister of Great Britain, made great efforts to avert the French collapse and to induce the French to fight on, but he was unsuccessful. The republic came to an end, and a new Government under Marshal Pétain was formed at Vichy. An armistice was concluded with the enemy. A large part of France, including the whole of the Atlantic and Channel coasts, was occupied by the Germans. France was to bear the cost of the army of occupation, and large quantities of food and materials were to be sent to Germany. German prisoners of war in France were released, but French prisoners of war in Germany remained there to work in German factories and arsenals, and in the next two or three years many thousands more of Frenchmen were sent to Germany as war-workers. On only one point was the Vichy Government able to hold out against the Germans; the French fleet was not to be ceded to them for use against Great Britain. It may be added that the sudden and complete collapse of France could not have occurred had there not been much corruption among French statesmen (some of whom were certainly in league with Germany) and, indeed, among French people.

The collapse of France was followed by the entry of Italy into the war. The Italian dictator, Mussolini, thought this to be a good time to demand from France the cession of Nice, Savoy, and Corsica. If he expected the Germans to help him he was disappointed; he did not obtain any of his objects, and his action brought Italy into conflict with British forces in North Africa.

Italian forces had conquered the small Balkan state of Albania in April, 1939, and Mussolini now decided to attack Greece. The Greeks resisted with great vigour, and a small British force (no more could be spared) was sent to assist them. The Italians were defeated, and, so far from conquering Greece, they would have been driven out of Albania as well had not the Germans come to their assistance. German armies had already occupied Yugoslavia, and they marched south in such great strength that Greece was conquered. The British withdrew to Crete, but the Germans followed and overran the island, the British remnant escaping to Egypt.

In June, 1940, and for the next twelve months, Great Britain stood alone, except for the Dominions, against Germany and Italy. The British army after Dunkirk needed re-equipment and reorganisation, since it had lost most of its artillery and other material on the continent. The Royal Air Force was the finest air force in the world in quality, but it was much below the German air force in numbers. The British navy maintained ceaseless watch around the coasts. Hitler's first great mistake in the war was his failure to attack Great Britain when she was at her weakest. Such an attack would have been costly to the Germans, and it is doubtful whether it would have succeeded; nevertheless, he never again had so good an opportunity. The country began to recover immediately, and every month that passed saw an increase in its strength. Other nations, including the Americans, thought that the end was near and that Great Britain would be defeated, or, at least, would have to accept a peace on German terms. This was not the British view. Mr. Churchill's appeal to the nation, promising nothing but "blood and toil and tears and sweat," and his declaration that

> "We shall fight on the seas and oceans, we shall fight with growing strength in the air, we shall defend our island whatever the cost may be, we shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills, we shall never surrender,"

met with instant and complete response. Within a week or two hundreds of thousands of men, mostly veterans of the 1914–18 war, had enrolled in a new force, the Home Guard; munition works were busy by day and night; ships and aeroplanes, tanks and guns, were built at top speed. There was no thought anywhere of coming to terms with the enemy, and words once uttered by Queen Victoria were frequently quoted: "We are not interested in the possibility of defeat; it does not exist."

The German attack on Great Britain really began in the autumn of 1940. The aim of the enemy was to destroy the Royal Air Force and then, no doubt, to attempt an invasion. Great fleets of aeroplanes were sent over, but the Royal Air Force, in spite of inferiority of numbers, proved equal to its task. The Battle of Britain, which lasted several days, was perhaps the turning point of the war. In a single day the Royal Air Force claimed to have destroyed 187 enemy aeroplanes for the loss of 30 of its own (and some of the pilots of the machines destroyed were saved by parachuting to the ground). On several other days the record of enemy losses approached this figure, and at length the German attack slackened. In the words of the Prime Minister, "Never in the history of mankind did so many owe so much to so few." (It is now thought that the number of German aeroplanes destroyed was not so great as was claimed, but at all events it was very large.)

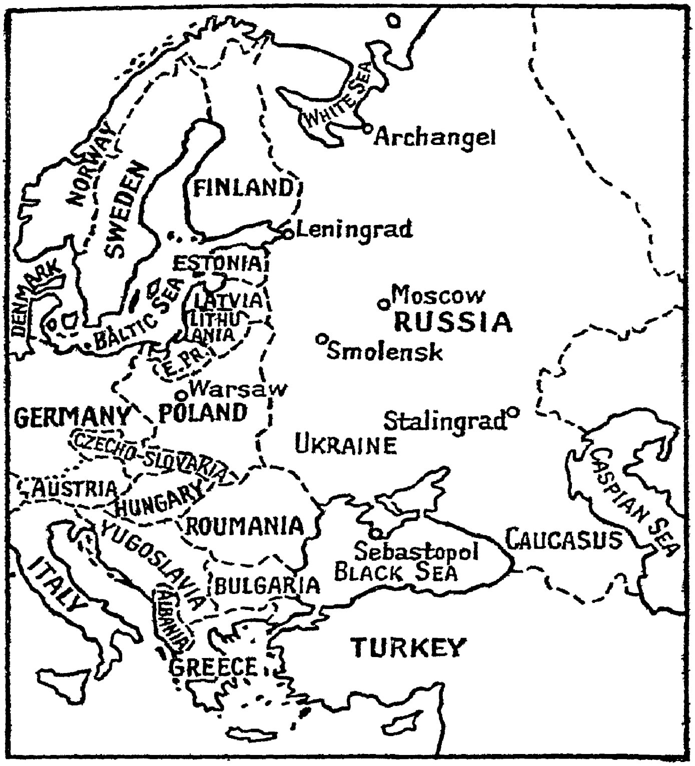
The Royal Air Force was not destroyed, and during the winter of 1940–1 the Germans concentrated on night bombardment of London and other great towns. Much property was destroyed and many lives were lost, but with the improvement of air-raid precautions the destruction of lives and property diminished as time went on. With the growth in strength of the Royal Air Force and with the invention of new devices for countering the attacks these raids became more and more costly to the enemy, and although they continued in varying degree till the end of the war it was evident by the spring of 1941 that they had neither intimidated the British people nor inflicted serious damage on British war industries.

Meanwhile, throughout the winter and spring of 1940–1 the Royal Air Force made constant attacks on shipping and docks in the Channel ports of France and the Low Countries in order to destroy German preparations for an invasion of England.

In the early months of the war the people of the United States had looked upon it as a European quarrel in which they had no concern. They were resolved to take no part in it, and Congress passed a Neutrality Act which established a principle popularly known as "cash and carry." Food and munitions of war might be sold by Americans to any of the combatants, who were to accept delivery in America and take the goods away in their own ships and at their own risk. Great Britain made large purchases in America, and the British navy was strong enough to prevent Germany from doing so.

As stated above, many Americans were convinced that Great Britain could not win after the collapse of France. But in June, 1940, a British fleet destroyed or crippled a number of French ships at Oran in order to prevent their being seized by the enemy. The Vichy Government resented the Battle of Oran and refused to continue diplomatic relations with Great Britain, and though it did not go so far as to declare war it remained hostile to the British and was inclined to co-operate with the Germans. But a more important result of the battle was its effect in America. The Americans realised that the Prime Minister's resolve to fight on was no empty boast, and sympathy with and admiration of Great Britain steadily increased. Moreover, there was a growing belief that if Great Britain were defeated the United States would be the next country to be attacked.

The President of the United States, Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt, had never shared in the popular American view that the war in Europe did not concern the United States. He could not do much in advance of public opinion, but as this grew steadily more favourable to Great Britain and more hostile to Germany he was able to act. He transferred a batch of fifty destroyers from the American navy to the British; in return, Great Britain leased to the United States a number of naval and air bases near the American coast. Early in 1941 assistance of another kind was offered. As stated above, Great Britain had made very large purchases from the United States under the conditions laid down in the Neutrality Act; the time was approaching when she would be unable to pay for further supplies. In March, 1941, Congress, at the President's suggestion, passed a Lease-Lend Act under which the United


WHITE SEA
Archangel
NORWAY
SWEDEN
FINLAND
Leningrad
DENMARK
ESTONIA
LATVIA
LITHUANIA
BALTIC SEA
E. PR.
Moscow
RUSSIA
Smolensk
Warsaw
GERMANY
POLAND
Stalingrad
UKRAINE
CZECHO-SLOVAKIA
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
ROUMANIA
YUGOSLAVIA
ITALY
BULGARIA
ALBANIA
GREECE
Sebastopol
BLACK SEA
TURKEY
CAUCASUS
CASPIAN SEA

Central and Eastern Europe, 1939–45

States undertook to supply food and munitions to any country which was resisting the aggression of Germany and Italy; these goods were to be sent out on the basis of loan, and without any agreement as to repayment. The immediate benefit of the arrangement was to Great Britain, but in course of time other countries, and especially Russia, received Lease-Lend assistance. After the American entry into the war Great Britain gave Lease-Lend assistance of various kinds to the United States, and the British Dominions also both received it and gave it.

In August, 1941, Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill met on board a British battleship in the Atlantic. They drew up a document, known as the Atlantic Charter, in which were stated the aims for which the war was being fought, and it was declared that the state of the world would not be satisfactory if these aims were unfulfilled.

Hitler made his second great mistake in June, 1941, when, without warning, and in violation of his treaty of friendship of August, 1939, he attacked Russia. The reason for this can only be conjectured. He had not conquered Great Britain; in fact, he had missed his most favourable opportunity. The German people expected a succession of easy victories such as those of the spring of 1940. He probably thought that the conquest of Russia would be achieved as easily as that of the Low Countries and France. Supplies of food and oil were required in Germany, and these would be obtained from the Ukraine and the Caucasus. With the immense resources of Russia at his command he could prepare for an overwhelming attack on Great Britain.

The course of the war in Russia can only be outlined. The Russians fell back under the weight of the German onslaught, but they offered stubborn resistance, and very heavy losses were sustained by both sides. Much Russian territory was occupied by the enemy, but supplies of guns, tanks, aeroplanes, and other equipment were sent to Russia by Great Britain and the United States. In the autumn of 1941 the Germans hoped to reach Leningrad in the north, Moscow in the centre, and Sebastopol in the south; they failed to capture any of them. The Russians recovered some ground during the winter of 1941–2, but in the spring and summer of 1942 German pressure increased, especially in the south. The Ukraine was overrun; the Crimea was conquered and Sebastopol was taken; and the enemy advanced to the Volga and towards the Caucasus. Stalingrad was besieged, but in the second winter of the war with Russia the tide turned. Russian power revived, and the German army which was investing Stalingrad was itself surrounded and forced to surrender. German armies in the Caucasus were rolled back, and the Crimea and the Ukraine were recovered. The Germans were ultimately expelled from the country, which, however, was not entirely freed from them until nearly the end of the war.

Japan, which was an ally of Germany and Italy, and which had been at war with China for several years, was preparing to attack American possessions in the Pacific. A Japanese mission visited Washington to discuss and settle questions outstanding between the two nations, and while this negotiation was going on a Japanese fleet visited Pearl Harbour, Hawaii, in December, 1941, and attacked American ships there without warning. The United States declared war on Japan, and Great Britain associated herself with the declaration. The United States also declared war on Germany and Italy. The stage was at last fully set. On the one side were the aggressor powers, Germany, Italy, and Japan; opposed to them were Great Britain and the Dominions, the United States, Russia, and China. (But Russia did not declare war on Japan till a few days before the end.)

The Japanese were ready for war; neither Americans nor British were ready for it in the Pacific. This accounts for the early run of Japanese successes. The capture of Hong Kong was followed by the conquest of the Philippine Islands and many other groups, of Malaya (including Singapore), and of Burma. Japanese forces occupied a part of New Guinea, and it seemed possible that both India and Australia might be invaded. Australian forces offered very strong resistance to the Japanese in New Guinea, and the Commonwealth was not invaded. The Indian frontier was crossed from Burma, but the Japanese did not penetrate far and were driven out. For a long time it was impossible to spare adequate allied forces to deal with the war in the Far East; the most that could be done was to send sufficient strength to prevent the Japanese extending their conquests farther. As allied forces—American, British, Canadian, and Australian—increased in the Pacific the tide of war turned.

The American General MacArthur was placed in supreme command in the Pacific and the British Admiral Lord Louis Mountbatten in South-east Asia. Admiral Mountbatten had an extremely difficult task, owing to the strength of the Japanese, the nature of the country, its distance from Great Britain (from which his supplies had to come), and the inadequacy of his forces (because more could not be spared). His recovery of Burma was one of the most praiseworthy achievements of the whole war. Burma and the Philippines were recovered in 1944–5, and progress was made towards ousting the Japanese from other regions held by them, but it was understood that the whole weight of allied strength could not be exerted against them until after the collapse of Germany.

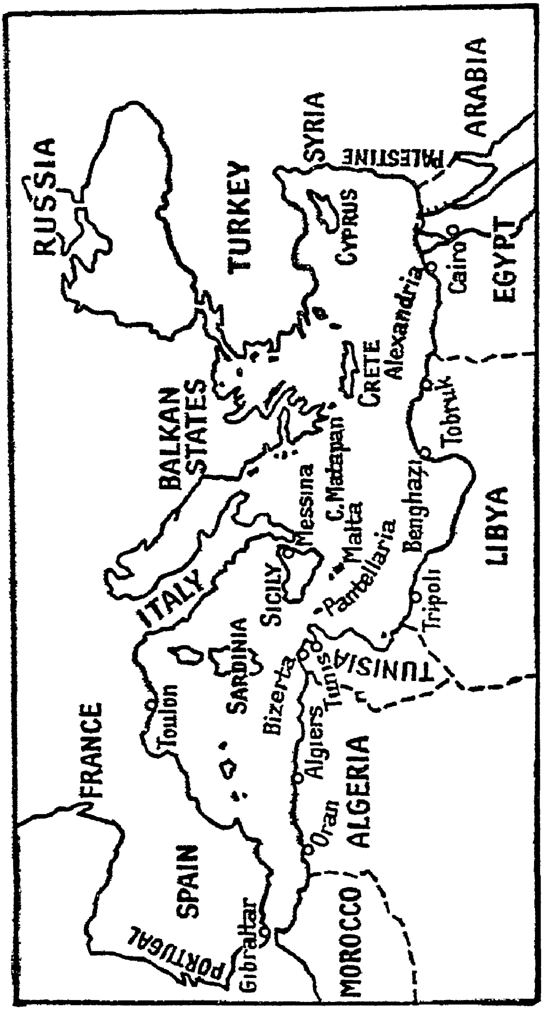
The north of Africa was the scene of heavy fighting in the years 1941–3. Abyssinia, which had been conquered by the Italians a few years earlier, was recovered from them and restored to the rule of its native Emperor, Haile Selassie. Italian Somaliland was conquered by the British. Italian and German forces were massed in Libya for an attack upon Egypt, for the defence of which a British army was gathered. (The dispatch of troops, guns, tanks, and aeroplanes to Egypt, at a time when there was still a shortage of means of defence in Great Britain, was a very bold measure; in the end it proved to be one of the factors leading to final victory.) British forces twice advanced into Libya as far as Tobruk and Benghazi, but on each occasion they had to withdraw because of the superior strength of the enemy. In November, 1942, the British Eighth Army (which came to be known as the "Desert Rats"), under General Montgomery, drove the enemy out of Libya. Germans and Italians retreated westward, and Montgomery occupied the Italian colony of Tripoli and advanced into the French colony of Tunis.

While this see-saw warfare was going on the Mediterranean was, in the main, under enemy control. Mussolini claimed it as "Mare Nostrum" (Our Sea). Yet its two outlets, the Straits of Gibraltar and the Suez Canal, were in British hands throughout the war, and the Italians were not left in peaceful possession of the Mediterranean. In the Battle of Cape Matapan, off the Greek coast, an Italian squadron suffered severe losses from an encounter with a British fleet; "His Majesty's ships suffered neither casualties nor damage" in the engagement. Yet it was necessary to send supplies to Montgomery's army by the long route round Africa, and it was not until the final expulsion of the enemy from Africa (still to be described) and the surrender of Italy that the Mediterranean was again open to British shipping. During this Mediterranean warfare Malta was attacked by the Italians. They made very great efforts to capture it; it was subjected to almost ceaseless air-raids, and supplies of food and ammunition ran very short until a relief convoy reached the island from Great Britain; but it held out to the end.

In November, 1942, a large force of British and American troops landed in North-west Africa and occupied the French colony of Algeria, which hitherto had been subject to the French Government at Vichy. The operation was carried out in secrecy and was a great surprise to the enemy. The Vichy connection with Algeria was broken, and a new French Government, friendly with the allies, was set up there. A Free French army was raised and joined the allies, the whole force being under the command of an American officer, General Eisenhower. It advanced eastwards into Tunis and joined up with Montgomery's army. The remnant of the German and Italian armies in North Africa was penned up in Tunis. No Dunkirk evacuation was possible for them, and with the capture of Tunis and Bizerta in May, 1943, the Germans and Italians were expelled from the continent of Africa with the loss of some hundreds of thousands of men as prisoners of war.

The Germans feared that the completion of the African campaign would be followed by an invasion of Europe, and they prepared to resist the attack. They announced their intention of occupying the whole of France except Toulon. This was a violation of the terms of the armistice between France and Germany, and Pétain protested, but without success. Toulon was occupied a few days later, no doubt in the hope of seizing those ships of the French navy that were stationed there. The capture of these ships would be of great advantage to the Germans and would be a serious blow to the allies. But the ships were scuttled in Toulon harbour by their captains in order to prevent their passing into German possession.

In the summer of 1943 the Anglo-American army conquered the island of Sicily after severe fighting. The Straits of Messina were crossed and the mainland of Italy was invaded. The Italians at length revolted against the rule of Mussolini, and he was arrested, though he escaped from his guards and took refuge with the Germans. A new Italian Government was formed under Marshal Badoglio, and Italy surrendered unconditionally to the allies in September, 1943.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EGYPT
Cairo
Alexandria
CRETE
BALKAN STATES
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Messina
Malta
Pantellaria
Benghazi
LIBYA
ITALY
SICILY
Tripoli
SARDINIA
TUNISIA
Tunis
Bizerta
Toulon
FRANCE
Algiers
ALGERIA
Oran
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
Gibraltar
MOROCCO

The Mediterranean and North Africa, 1940–3

This was not the end. The Germans in Italy continued to resist the allied advance under General Alexander, and it was not until nearly the end of the war that German armies were driven out of the peninsula. Italy declared war on Germany, and Italian forces gave some assistance to the allies. Mussolini was captured again early in 1945 and was shot by Italians in a village near Milan.

The tide of war had now turned strongly against the Germans, but it was evident that Germany could not be overcome without direct attack. During the winter of 1943–4 preparations were made in England for an invasion of Europe. British, Dominion, and American armies of great strength were gathered in the south of England under the supreme command of General Eisenhower, who was assisted by Air Chief Marshal Tedder and General (soon to be Field-Marshal) Montgomery. The preparations included the construction of artificial harbours, known as "Mulberry," which were towed in sections across the Channel to the French coast, and of "Pluto" (Pipe Line Under The Ocean) for the supply of petrol to the invading army.

The Royal Air Force was now far stronger than it had been in the early days of the war. Many thousands of pilots had been trained in Canada, the United States, and South Africa, and aircraft of improved design had been produced in great numbers. British and American pilots carried out heavy raids by day and night on German towns, railways, and canals, in order to disorganise German transport and destroy German war production.

The Germans expected the invasion, but they did not know when and where it would take place, and when a landing was made they were uncertain whether it was the main attack or whether an even bigger attempt was to be expected elsewhere. For this reason they hesitated to concentrate all their forces against the invaders, lest some other part of the coast of Europe should be left inadequately protected, and by the time they realised that this was the main attack the allies had gained a firm footing in France.

Normandy was invaded in June, 1944, and, in spite of rather rough seas in the Channel, the operation was a great success. Hard fighting took place; Cherbourg was captured by the Americans, and within a week or two of the first landing Normandy was completely occupied. The allies advanced as far south as the Loire and as far east as the Seine. They reached Paris and passed it and at length they drove the Germans over the eastern frontier of France.

Another allied force landed in the south of France at this time, and General Alexander's army in Italy completed the occupation of that country and invaded France from the south-east. These two forces joined together and began to clear the south of France of the enemy; at length they were able to move towards the Rhine and to link up with General Eisenhower's army.

In December, 1944, a German counter-attack under Rundstedt met with some success, and some Belgian towns and villages which had been cleared of the enemy were recovered by them. Their success did not last long, and they were driven back across the Rhine.

General Eisenhower's armies crossed the Rhine and moved on towards the Elbe. Meanwhile, the Russians invaded Germany from the east, and it was clear that in a short time the eastern and western invaders of Germany would meet. The position of the Germans was now hopeless. Little was now heard of Hitler, who committed suicide in April, 1945; many other leading men of the German Government fled or went into hiding. Early in May the German generals realised that they could resist no longer, and they accepted the terms of the allies—unconditional surrender. The victors occupied Berlin, and as many of the leaders of the German Government as could be found were arrested.

The whole of Germany was occupied by the allies. It was divided into four zones. Germany east of the Elbe was put in charge of the Russians; the British occupied the north-west; the Americans the south-west; and the French took over the Saar. Allied prisoners of war in Germany were released, though German prisoners of war in allied hands were retained. German troops were ordered to leave all countries still occupied by them. All German forces were disarmed and disbanded, and the men were directed to return to their homes. All fire-arms were to be given up, and German war material of all kinds was seized by the allies and either kept for their own use or destroyed. Men and women who had been confined in German concentration camps were released, and the horrors of life and death in these places were made known.

Germans who had committed crimes during the war were put on trial before military courts. The trials were fair, and men against whom nothing could be proved were set free; the guilty were hanged or shot or were sentenced to terms of imprisonment. The leaders of the German Government were tried on a charge of another kind; they were charged with having made war. This was a new thing in the history of mankind; after no previous war had the mere fact of making war been treated as a crime, to be punished after trial like any other crime. Even Napoleon had not been punished; he was sent to St. Helena not as a punishment but in order to prevent any attempt by him to recover the crown of France and make war again. The trial of these men took place at Nuremburg before judges appointed by the four chief allies; three of them were acquitted, and the others were sentenced to death or to terms of imprisonment.

Two of Hitler's outstanding mistakes have already been noticed, and mention must be made of a further blunder, perhaps the greatest made by the Germans. Often during the war Hitler announced his intention of setting up a "New Order" in Europe. Germany was to be supreme everywhere. The Germans, as a superior race, were to rule other nations, whose industry, trade, and agriculture were to be controlled in the interests of Germany. The mistake of the Germans lay in their failure to conciliate the peoples they conquered. Whenever they occupied a country they plundered it and treated the people with contempt and brutality, with the result that they were hated and, as far as possible, resisted. In every conquered country they had to maintain large armies of occupation to suppress underground resistance movements. It is at least conceivable that the New Order might have been introduced without this harshness and with some regard for the subject peoples. Had the Germans treated the conquered peoples well, had they tried to prove that the New Order was better than the governments it was to replace, had they shown that they were overthrowing corrupt and inefficient rule, they might have won over the peoples of occupied Europe, and their prospects of ultimate victory would have been brighter.

After the surrender of Germany, Great Britain and the United States were free to concentrate their forces against Japan. By this time Burma had been recovered by Lord Louis Mountbatten and the Philippines by General MacArthur. Much more remained to be done, but the end was nearer than was generally realised. For some time research had been going on in the United States and Great Britain on the problem of splitting the atom. As Great Britain was subject to German air-raids and the United States was not it was decided that the final stages of the research should take place in America. It was successful, and atomic bombs were made.

In August, 1945, an American pilot dropped an atomic bomb on the Japanese city of Hiroshima. The effect was tremendous; most of Hiroshima was utterly destroyed, and it was estimated that the number of casualties exceeded 100,000. And all this was caused by a single bomb! The allies invited Japan to surrender, and as she did not do so at once another atomic bomb was dropped, this time on Nagasaki, with results fully equal to those at Hiroshima. It was now clear that the allies were able to lay every town in Japan in ruins and to destroy its whole population. The Japanese Government did the only thing possible; it surrendered unconditionally.

Japanese forces were scattered in so many remote regions and islands that some time elapsed before all the surrenders could be received. Japan was occupied by an allied army under the command of General MacArthur. A new Japanese Government, which was supposed to be chosen on democratic principles, was set up, but it had to accept and obey General MacArthur's directions. In this respect the treatment of Japan differed from that of Germany, where no German Government was set up, the country being ruled by officers of the occupying armies.

During the war Japanese treatment of prisoners of war had been extremely brutal. Japanese war criminals were now arrested, tried, and sentenced, and, as in Germany, the leaders of the Government were placed on trial for the offence of making war.

In April, 1945, before the final collapse of Germany, a conference of the allies and of many neutral nations was held at San Francisco, and it was resolved to establish an organisation, to be known as the United Nations, to replace the League of Nations for the preservation of the peace of the world. The constitution of the United Nations was outlined in a Charter. There was to be an Assembly in which all member-states would be represented, and a Security Council composed of representatives of the great powers and of some of the smaller states. There was also to be a Court of International Justice at the Hague for the settlement of international disputes which might be referred to it. The most important part of this organisation was the Security Council, which was empowered to take any action it thought to be necessary to preserve the peace of the world. Unfortunately, it was arranged that each of the five great powers represented on the Security Council should have the right of vetoing any proposed action. Since the establishment of the Council the right of veto has been frequently used by Russia; it is becoming clear that it is possible for a single power by the excessive use of its veto to reduce the Council to powerlessness.

The organisation of the United Nations seemed to be much like that of the League of Nations, and some people feared that it might be subject to the same defects. It was even asserted that nothing had happened but a change of name. But there were differences. The United States and Russia were members of the United Nations from the beginning; for many years Russia was not a member of the League; and the United States never belonged to it. Also, it was understood that the United Nations would be willing to take direct action against any state which made war or which was preparing to do so; the League failed because of its reluctance to do this. The success of the United Nations will depend on the willingness of its members to act up to its ideals.

SUMMARIES OF THE CHAPTERS OF THIS BOOK

INTRODUCTION: EUROPE IN 1789

HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE. Extent equivalent to that of modern Germany, with Belgium, Austria, and Czechoslovakia, but excluding part of Prussia. Over three hundred and fifty states, a few large, many small. States ruled by princes (various titles). State rulers were independent; could wage war, make alliances, coin money, send and receive ambassadors. All state rulers were represented in the Diet of the Empire. About fifty Free Cities of the Empire. Emperor was "Lord of the World." Superior to other potentates in rank. His real power rested upon his hereditary territories. Title elective. Emperor chosen by Electors, now nine in number. Election a formality. Invariably a Hapsburg was chosen.

Austria. Austrian dominions ruled by Hapsburgs. Scattered territories. Included:

Within Empire: Austria, Bohemia, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Tyrol, Austrian Netherlands.

Outside Empire: Hungary, Lombardy.

People of many races and languages. No Austrian nation. Hapsburgs aimed at consolidating territories, e.g., they wished to exchange Austrian Netherlands for Bavaria.

Prussia. Prussian dominions ruled by Hohenzollerns. Scattered territories. Included:

Within Empire: Brandenburg, Rhenish Prussia, other North German lands.

Outside Empire: Prussia.

Hohenzollerns aimed at consolidating territories. Rivalry of Austria and Prussia during eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

FRANCE. Engaged in nearly every important European war in the eighteenth century. Wars with Great Britain for naval, colonial, and commercial supremacy. Generally opposed to the Hapsburgs in Europe until 1756. Franco-Austrian alliance. Louis XVI (while Dauphin) married Marie Antoinette ("l'Autrichienne"). Serious financial difficulties in France. 1756–92

SPAIN. Revived importance in the eighteenth century. Kings of the Bourbon line. Allied with France and opposed to Great Britain in eighteenth-century wars.

Italy. Not united. Included about ten small states.

Naples and Sicily (The Two Sicilies). Extended over Sicily and South Italy. Bourbon kings.

Papal States (The States of the Church). In Central Italy. Extended northwards to the Venetian boundary.

Tuscany. Grand duchy. Hapsburg possession. West of the Papal States. Ruled for many years by the Archduke Leopold (afterwards Emperor as Leopold II).

Parma.
Modena. Small states south of the Po.
Lucca.

Venice. To the north-east. Republics.
Genoa. To the north-west.

Piedmont and Savoy. Part of the dominions of the King of Sardinia.

Lombardy. Milan, capital. Under Austrian rule.

Switzerland. A group of cantons. Confederation for purposes of defence. Each canton settled its own internal affairs.

Poland. Enclosed by Prussia, Austria, and Russia. Large, but weak. No defensible frontier. Elective monarchy. Frequent civil war. Nobles selfish. People were serfs.

1772. First Partition.
1793. Second Partition. Successive encroachments by the neighbouring powers.
1795. Third Partition.
1795. Poland ceased to exist as an independent state.

Russia. Backward. Increasing importance in European affairs
1762–96. during the eighteenth century. Catherine II extended Russian
territory and power.

Turkey in Europe. Balkan Peninsula. Subject peoples Christian. Turkish power declined rapidly during eighteenth century. Frequent wars with Austria and Russia. Turkey saved by dissensions among enemies.

Holland. Aristocratic republic. Ruled by a Stadtholder of the
House of Orange. William V allied with Great Britain and
1795. Prussia. Opposed by France. Expelled when the French
overran the country.

Sweden. Formerly powerful, with territories round the Baltic. Still held Finland and Swedish Pomerania. Aim of Swedish policy was to acquire Norway from Denmark.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY GOVERNMENTS:

Absolute monarchy nearly everywhere. Feudalism prevailed. Nobles formed privileged class, but they did not share in the work of government.

No attention to the principle of nationality. Little national consciousness among the people.

Low standard of international morality. Treaties often disregarded. Principle of the Balance of Power often applied in a perverted way. The undue weakening of a state tempted its neighbours to attack it.

THE PEOPLE:

Mostly rural. Two classes of society:
- (1) Lords. Held privileges and exemptions. Rights of hunting and fishing. Received dues from peasants.
- (2) Peasants. Suffered under heavy burdens. In many countries peasants were still serfs. Even where free the peasants bore the burden of royal taxation, dues to the lords, and tithes to the Church.

Agriculture backward. Open-field cultivation. Fallows. Limited rotation of crops. Little manuring. Farm stock of poor quality and subject to disease.

Middle class of prosperous traders in the towns. Equal to the nobility in wealth, but inferior in social position.

Industry controlled by gilds. Carried on by hand or by hand-worked machines. Restricted by gild regulations.

Trade hindered by customs barriers.

GREAT BRITAIN:

Differed from continental countries. Serfdom extinct. No privileged class. Constitutional government. Union of England and Scotland strengthened and benefited both. Victory in the struggle with France for colonial Empire. Industrial Revolution. Great increase in national wealth.

INTELLECTUAL MOVEMENT:

Philosophers criticised the evils of society in the eighteenth century and advocated changes. Not democratic. Hoped for reforms to be carried out by monarchs.

Benevolent Despots. Monarchs who endeavoured to improve the condition of their people. Well-meaning. Their reforms did not go far enough to avert revolutionary movements at the end of the eighteenth century and during the nineteenth.

1. THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

CAUSES:

(1) Privileges of nobles:
- (*a*) Exemption from most of taxation; from compulsory military service.
- (*b*) Rights of hunting and fishing; keeping doves and shooting.
- (*c*) Levy of tolls on roads and market-places.
- (*d*) Jurisdiction over peasants.
- (*e*) Provision of mill, wine-press, slaughter-house, and oven for use of peasants, who had to pay dues.

Heavy burden of peasants. No longer serfs, but lived in poverty. Paid nearly all national taxation. Paid dues to lords. Paid tithes to Church.

Great nobles lived at court. No personal contact between nobles and peasants (contrast with English society). Estates managed by bailiffs.

(2) Highly centralised Government. Despotic. Matters directed by the Council at Versailles. Little liberty of action left to local officials. Council overburdened with work.

(3) French national finance:

(*a*) Heavy national debt, due to extravagance of court and to eighteenth-century wars.
(*b*) Collection of taxes by tax-farmers. Peasants paid much more than was received by Government.
(*c*) Indirect taxes varied from province to province.
(*d*) Customs duties at provincial frontiers.

(4) No national Parliament. States-General had not met since 1614. (Certain bodies called Parlements existed. Registered royal edicts.)

(5) Influence of French philosophers:

(*a*) Montesquieu. Admired English institutions, especially the "separation of powers."
(*b*) Encyclopædists. Criticised French institutions.
(*c*) Voltaire. Appealed to reason. Opposed Church and feudal privileges. Approved British constitution. Not democratic.
(*d*) Rousseau. Believed in social contract as origin of society. Need of new contract. Advocated return to nature.

(6) Example of America and Ireland.

IMMEDIATE CAUSE:

Bankruptcy of France by 1787. No more loans could be raised. Nobles refused to surrender privileges. King decided to call States-General.

COURSE OF THE REVOLUTION:

1789–91. *States-General* (*National Assembly*):

Met at Versailles. No programme of reform proposed by Government. Struggle of Third Estate with nobles and clergy. Decision of the estates to sit together as the National Assembly.

Activity of the Paris mob:

1789 (July). Capture of the Bastille.
1789 (Oct.). March of the women to Versailles. Court and Assembly returned to Paris.

National Guard organised, under Lafayette, to protect property.

Measures of the National Assembly (much of the work was done under mob influence):

1789 (*a*) Abolition of noble privileges (4 Aug.).
(*b*) New system of local government.
(*c*) Confiscation of Church property.
(*d*) Reorganisation of Church as a department of state. Civil Constitution of the Clergy.
(*e*) New system of taxation.
(*f*) Issue of paper money.
1791. (*g*) New constitution. Strictly limited monarchy. Regular meetings of the Assembly.

1791. King and royal family attempted flight. Overtaken at Varennes. Returned to Paris.
King accepted constitution.

1791–2. *Legislative Assembly:*
1791. Elected to succeed National Assembly. Friction with King, who vetoed decrees against *émigrés* and non-juring clergy.
1792. War with Austria and Prussia. Invasion of France. Brunswick's declaration. King suspended. Panic in Paris. Massacres of Royalist prisoners in September.

1792–5. *Convention:*
1792. Elected to succeed Legislative Assembly. Deposition of Louis XVI. France declared to be a republic.
Struggle between Jacobins (extremists) and Girondins. Thorough organisation of Jacobins. System of affiliated clubs. Support of Paris mob. Girondin support from certain provinces.
1793 (Jan.) Trial of Louis XVI. Charged with intriguing with foreign powers. Condemned to death and executed. Victory for Jacobins.

1793 (May). Fall of Girondins. Arrest of Girondin deputies. Triumph of Jacobins.

1793–4. The Terror. To punish treachery and to inspire people to
desperate courage in national emergency. Committee of
Public Safety and Revolutionary Tribunal. Terror spread
to provinces by Deputies on Mission. Execution of large
1793 (Oct.) numbers of nobles, priests, and wealthy men. Execution of
Marie Antoinette. Danton and Robespierre, leaders of
Terror, ultimately overthrown and put to death.

Abolition of Christian worship. Worship of Reason established. Republican Calendar drawn up.

1795. Terror ended. Revolutionary Tribunal and Committee of Public Safety reorganised. Jacobin Club closed. Convention recovered authority.

Other work of Convention (during Terror):
(*a*) System of education planned.
(*b*) Codification of law begun.
(*c*) Metric system.
(*d*) Relief of poor.
(*e*) Improvement of agriculture.
1795. (*f*) New constitution. Law of Two-Thirds.

1795. Paris rising. Unpopularity of Law of Two-Thirds. Rising quelled by Bonaparte. Mob dispersed. End of violent Revolution. Restoration of constitutional government.

1795–9. *Directory:*

(*a*) Five members to hold office for five years, one retiring each year.
(*b*) Two Councils:
  (i) Five Hundred. To propose legislation.
  (ii) Ancients. To accept or reject legislation.

Unpopular and inefficient. Real power in hands of generals.

1799–1804. *Consulate:*

Bonaparte First Consul. Return to the rule of a single person, i.e. monarchy.

GAINS FROM THE REVOLUTION:

(1) Feudal privileges not revived.
(2) Pre-Revolution power and wealth of the Church not restored.
(3) Efficiency of administration.
(4) Justice open to all.
(5) Taxation on a fair basis.

EFFECT OF FRENCH REVOLUTION IN OTHER COUNTRIES:

Alarm of absolute rulers lest Revolution should spread. Repression of revolutionary tendencies wherever they appeared.

2. THE FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY WAR

IMMEDIATE EFFECT OF FRENCH REVOLUTION:

To diminish French influence in Europe. No likelihood of war.

1791. AUSTRO-PRUSSIAN ACTION:

Meeting of Leopold II and Frederick William II at Pillnitz. Activity of French *émigré* nobles and princes.

Declaration of Pillnitz:

(*a*) Authority of French King ought to be restored.
(*b*) Hope that other states would co-operate.
(*c*) *If other powers would co-operate,* Austria and Prussia would employ adequate forces for the purpose.

But it was known that Great Britain was averse to intervention. Therefore, Declaration meant little. After Louis XVI accepted constitution of 1791 the Declaration was withdrawn.

CAUSES OF WAR:

Immediate:

(1) *Émigré* princes and nobles in states of the Empire. Army at Coblentz.
(2) Rights of princes of Empire who held lands in France were affected by decrees of Assembly.

Real and ultimate:

French resented foreign interference. Austria and Prussia feared spread of Revolution. Incompatibility of revolutionary principles with absolute monarchy.

1792 (April). DECLARATION OF WAR:

By France against Austria. Prussia assumed it to apply to her also.

CONDITION OF THE WARRING POWERS:

French:

Army badly organised and ill-equipped. Discipline lax. Recruiting poor.

Allies:

Distrusted each other. Feared Catherine II.

1792. OPENING CAMPAIGN:

Prussians invaded France from the east. Brunswick's manifesto to Paris. Prussians captured Longwy and Verdun. Kellermann and Dumouriez defeated Prussians at Cannonade of Valmy. Prussians abandoned Longwy and Verdun and left France. French invaded Empire and captured Worms, Mainz, and Frankfort.

Austrians invaded France from north-east. Besieged Lille. Relieved by Dumouriez, who invaded Austrian Netherlands and defeated Austrians at Jemappes. Netherlands overrun.

Sardinians entered war against France. French captured Savoy and Nice.

AGGRESSIVE ATTITUDE OF FRENCH REPUBLIC:

1792 (Nov.). Edict of Fraternity. Invited oppressed peoples to rise against their rulers.

1792 (Dec.). Edict ordering that republican institutions should be established and feudal rights abolished in all territories occupied by French armies.

CAUSES OF BRITISH ENTRY INTO WAR:

(1) British obligation, under the Treaty of Utrecht, to defend Holland.
(2) Opening of the Scheldt. Antwerp a menace to Great Britain.
(3) Edict of Fraternity.
(4) Execution of Louis XVI moved British opinion.

1793. FIRST COALITION:

Fifteen countries, including:

Austria
Prussia
Holland
Spain
Sardinia
Great Britain

v. France.

Events of 1793–5:

1793. (1) Dumouriez invaded Holland. Retired. Defeated by Austrians at Neerwinden. Dumouriez feared arrest and fled to enemy. British army under Duke of York joined Austrians. Netherlands recovered. France invaded. Dunkirk besieged.

Spanish invaded Roussillon.
British naval force occupied Toulon.
Royalist revolt in La Vendée.
Prussians and Austrians recovered Mainz. Threatened invasion of France from east.

(2) French enthusiasm to meet emergency. *Levée en masse.* Conscription.

(3) York driven from Dunkirk.
Vendean revolt checked.
English driven from Toulon.
Austrians and Prussians driven back.

1794. Spanish driven out. Catalonia invaded.
Austrian Netherlands invaded. Jourdan defeated Austrians at Battle of Fleurus. York driven into Holland and recalled to England.
Battle of First of June; naval battle off Ushant; French fleet defeated, but a convoy of corn ships reached port.

1795 Holland conquered. Peace:

(*a*) Indemnity.
(*b*) Territory to be ceded.
(*c*) Alliance with France, offensive and defensive.
(*d*) Dutch to equip and maintain body of French troops.

Stadtholder fled to England. British captured Cape of Good Hope.
French sugar islands in West Indies captured by British.

(5 Apr.). Treaty of Basel. Peace with Prussia. Rhenish territories ceded to France.
(22 July). Treaty of Basel. Peace with Spain.
1796. Treaty of San Ildefonso. Alliance of France and Spain.

1796–7. *Bonaparte's Italian Campaign:*

The only enemies of importance remaining against France were Austria, Sardinia, and Great Britain.
Carnot's plan against Austria:

$\left.\begin{array}{l}\text{Jourdan}\\ \text{Moreau}\end{array}\right\}$ to invade Austria by the Rhine.

Bonaparte to attack Austrian power in Italy.

1796. Bonaparte invaded Italy. Separated Sardinians from Austrians. Defeated Sardinians and drove them towards Turin. Treaty of Cherasco; peace. Savoy and Nice left in French hands.
Bonaparte marched south-east of Milan. Austrians abandoned Milan and retreated towards Mantua. Battle of Lodi; Bonaparte defeated Austrians and conquered Lombardy. Occupied Milan. Indemnity. Pictures. Rising of Lombard peasants crushed.

Bonaparte defeated Austrians at Peschiera. Besieged Mantua. Expedition against Pope, who agreed to armistice, gave up pictures, and paid indemnity.

Austrian reinforcements in Italy. Bonaparte abandoned siege of Mantua. Defeated Austrians. Renewed siege of Mantua. Captured Mantua.

Cispadane republic formed (Modena and some papal territory). Alliance with France.

Bonaparte again invaded Papal States. Peace of Tolentino; Pope made peace.

1797. Bonaparte advanced against Archduke Charles, who had defeated Jourdan and compelled Moreau to retire from Bavaria. Battle of the Tagliamento; Bonaparte defeated Charles and invaded Carinthia.

1797. *Treaty of Campo Formio:*

(1) Lombardy and Austrian Netherlands to France. (Lombardy added to Cispadane republic to form Cisalpine republic, recognised by Austria.)
(2) Venetia east of the Adige, with Istria and Dalmatia, to Austria. (Venetian republic ended.)
(3) Congress to be held at Rastadt to settle terms of peace with Holy Roman Empire. Emperor to use influence to secure Rhine boundary for France.

Results of the War—to 1797:

(1) Rhine boundary for France.
(2) Substantial French gains in Italy—vassal republics.
(3) Austrian dominions consolidated—Venetia instead of Lombardy and Netherlands.
(4) Neither Austria nor Prussia ready to defend Germany. Concerned with their own interests.
(5) Only Great Britain left at war with France.

1797. THE CRITICAL YEAR:

$\left.\begin{array}{l}\text{France}\\ \text{Spain}\\ \text{Holland}\end{array}\right\}$ *v.* Great Britain.

Aim of allies:

To effect a junction of fleets, in order that the British fleet might be overpowered and an invasion of England be effected.

British aim:

To prevent junction.

Events of 1797:

Battle of St. Vincent; Jervis and Nelson defeated Spanish fleet.
Mutiny at Spithead. Easily suppressed.
Mutiny at the Nore. Crushed.
Battle of Camperdown; Duncan defeated Dutch.

1798–9. EGYPTIAN CAMPAIGN:

1798. Bonaparte sailed from Toulon. Captured Malta from the Knights of St. John.

Bonaparte reached Egypt. On the way to India. Its conquest would deal a great blow to British trade. Possibility of conquering Turkey and attacking Austria from south-east.

Bonaparte defeated Mamelukes at Battle of the Pyramids.

Nelson searched for French fleet. Destroyed French fleet at the Battle of the Nile.

1799. Bonaparte marched into Syria to re-establish his communications with France. Defeated at Acre. Returned to Egypt.

1799. Bonaparte returned alone to France.

VASSAL REPUBLICS:

Established by the French:

1795. Batavian republic. Holland.
1797. Cisalpine republic. North Italy.
1798. Helvetic republic. Switzerland.
Roman republic. Rome. (Pope a prisoner at Valence.)
Ligurian republic. Genoa.
1799. Parthenopean republic. Naples.

1798. SECOND COALITION:

Russia
Austria
Turkey
Great Britain
} *v.* France.

1799. Russians and Austrians reconquered northern Italy. French abandoned Naples and Rome. Defeated at Battle of Novi. Cisalpine republic overthrown. French remnant at Genoa. Jealousies of allies. Masséna defeated Russians at Zurich. Russians withdrew from the war.

1800. Bonaparte, First Consul, invaded Italy. Recovered Milan. Masséna compelled to surrender at Genoa. Battle of Marengo; Bonaparte defeated Austrians, who retreated east of the Mincio. French occupied Piedmont. Cisalpine republic restored.

1800. British captured Malta.

1801. *Treaty of Lunéville:*

(1) Austria reaffirmed settlement at Campo Formio.
(2) Austria agreed to Rhine boundary for France.
(3) Princes who lost lands west of Rhine to be compensated with other German lands with sanction of Consulate. (German settlement would be in accordance with French ideas.)
(4) Emperor to recognise Batavian and Helvetic republics.

Great Britain again alone against France.

1800. NORTHERN LEAGUE (ARMED NEUTRALITY):

Causes:

(1) Tsar Paul became Grand Master of Knights of St. John. Resented British capture of Malta.
(2) Resentment of neutral powers at search of their ships by British.

The League:

Russia
Sweden
Denmark
Prussia
} *v.* Great Britain.

Events:

Denmark possessed fleet. Parker and Nelson demanded its surrender. Battle of Copenhagen; Danish ships captured or destroyed.

Tsar Paul died. Tsar Alexander I reached agreement with Great Britain. Armed Neutrality ended.

1802. TREATY OF AMIENS:

Between Great Britain and France:

(1) Great Britain to restore French West Indian islands.
(2) Great Britain to restore Cape of Good Hope to Dutch.
(3) Great Britain to retain Ceylon and Trinidad, captured during the war.
(4) Great Britain to restore Malta to Knights of St. John.
(5) French to withdraw from Papal States and Naples.
(6) British and French to withdraw from Egypt.

N.B. (*a*) Treaty settled nothing. A mere truce.
(*b*) Peace made because of war-weariness.
(*c*) Neither side victorious. French victories had been gained on land. British victories at sea.
(*d*) Treaty less satisfactory to Great Britain than to France. Great Britain returned important conquests. Bonaparte gave back only Egypt, which he could not retain, and central and southern Italy, which he could recover at any time.
(*e*) Great Britain had not achieved her object in the war.

REASONS FOR FRENCH SUCCESS:

(In spite of bankruptcy, lack of discipline, and lack of supplies.)
(1) Enthusiasm of a people fighting for liberty.
(2) Eighteenth-century despotisms played out.

N.B. Great Britain escaped defeat only through her geographical position and the strength of her navy.

3. NAPOLEON'S RULE IN FRANCE

THE CONSULATE:

The Consuls:

Three in number. First Consul possessed all power, including military command. Second and Third Consuls were mere assistants. Despotic monarchy under constitutional forms. Vigorous and ruthless.

Constitutional forms:

- Council of State. Appointed by First Consul. Dealt with administrative matters. Proposed legislation.
- Senate. Appointed tribunes and legislators.
- Tribunes. Criticised legislation. (Abolished soon after establishment of Empire.)
- Legislative Corps. Accepted or rejected legislation.

POLICY:

(1) *Centralisation:*

Over-centralisation of Bourbon rule had been followed by excessive decentralisation under Revolution. Now corrected. Local government divisions retained, but departments were made subject to prefects and communes to mayors, appointed by First Consul. Paris in twelve divisions, each under a mayor. Whole city under prefect of police.

(2) *Sound finance:*

Revenue collected promptly. Arrears collected. Bank of France established.

(3) *Conciliation:*

- (i) *Émigrés.* Invited to return. Political prisoners released.
- (ii) Church. Hitherto supported Bourbons. Bonaparte entered into an agreement (the Concordat) with the Pope.

1801. THE CONCORDAT:

- (*a*) Roman Catholic religion to be recognised.
- (*b*) Bishops to be appointed by First Consul and instituted by Pope.
- (*c*) Parish priests to be appointed by bishops.
- (*d*) Church property not to be given back, but cathedrals and churches to be restored.
- (*e*) Salaries of clergy to be paid by state.
- (*f*) Prayers for republic and Consuls.

N.B. Existing bishops resigned or were deposed. New appointments.

BONAPARTE'S ADVANCE IN POWER:

1799. First Consul. Ten years.
1802. First Consul. Life. "Napoleon."
1804. Emperor of the French. Plebiscite in France. Recognition by other powers. Coronation. Pope present.

THE FRENCH EMPIRE AND THE ROMAN EMPIRE:

- (*a*) Both developed from republics.
- (*b*) Vast territories conquered. Subject peoples and kings.
- (*c*) Pope at coronation.
- (*d*) Heir to Holy Roman Emperor was "King of the Romans." Heir to Napoleon was "King of Rome."
- (*e*) Eastern and Western Empires.
- (*f*) Marriage-alliance of Napoleon with Hapsburgs.

GRANDEUR OF THE EMPIRE:

(*a*) Court and etiquette.
(*b*) New nobility.
(*c*) Body of marshals.
(*d*) Legion of Honour.

THE CODES:

(*a*) Civil Code (*Code Napoléon*). Begun by Convention. French civil law.
(*b*) Code of Civil Procedure.
(*c*) Criminal Code.
(*d*) Code of Criminal Procedure.
(*e*) Code of Commercial Law.

CONFLICT WITH THE PAPACY:

Causes:

(1) Treatment of the Pope at Napoleon's coronation.
(2) Matters arising out of the Concordat.
(3) Papal claim to overlordship of kingdom of Naples, of which Joseph Bonaparte was King.

Quarrel:

Napoleon demanded that one-third of the cardinals should be French. Pope refused to institute French bishops. Napoleon annexed Papal States. Pope excommunicated invaders (not Napoleon by name). Napoleon arrested Pope. Prisoner at Fontainebleau.

FINANCE UNDER THE EMPIRE:

(*a*) Land reassessed for taxation.
(*b*) Indirect taxes on tobacco and salt.
(*c*) Extraordinary Domain. Received indemnities and tributes. Paid expenses of new expeditions.

PRESS:

Censorship. Few papers. Official journal, *Le Moniteur*.

MATERIAL PROSPERITY:

No invasion. Machine industry. Improvement in agriculture. Declining prosperity when blockade was rigidly enforced.

4. THE NAPOLEONIC WARS—TO THE TREATY OF TILSIT

CAUSES OF RENEWAL OF WAR:

(1) Treaty of Amiens was a mere truce. Ill-feeling remained.
(2) Refusal of Great Britain to evacuate Malta.
(3) British alarm at growth of Napoleon's influence:
    (*a*) Napoleon annexed Piedmont.
    (*b*) Napoleon became President of the Cisalpine republic (Italian republic).
    (*c*) Swiss Confederation formed, in alliance with France.

(*d*) Western part of Holy Roman Empire reorganised under French direction.
(*e*) French troops in Batavian republic.

(4) Napoleon's refusal to revive Anglo-French commercial treaty.
(5) Insulting references to Napoleon in the British press.
(6) British suspicion of Napoleon's designs upon Egypt.

THE WAR:

1803. Great Britain *v.* France.
1804. Great Britain *v.* Spain.

CHARACTER OF THE WAR:

In the French Revolutionary War Great Britain was on the side of despotic monarchies against a nation fighting for liberty.

In the Napoleonic Wars Great Britain was on the side of nations fighting for freedom and independence against the despotism of Napoleon.

EARLY MEASURES:

French occupied Hanover. Frederick William III, King of Prussia, protested. Great Britain blockaded Elbe and Weser, to the detriment of Prussian trade.

French troops in Neapolitan ports. Subsidies demanded by France from Spain and Portugal. Troops from Dutch and Swiss.

FRENCH PLAN OF INVASION:

Napoleon:

1804. Army at Boulogne.

British defence measures:

Volunteer force raised.
Martello towers built.
Militia strengthened.
Signalling system installed.
Possible transfer of Government to Midlands.
Preparations for evacuating invaded regions.

French naval plan:

Toulon fleet under Villeneuve to join Spanish fleet at Cadiz. To go to West Indies and join squadron escaped from Rochefort. Nelson to pursue, to defend West Indian colonies. Villeneuve to return to European waters, leaving Nelson in the West Indies. Villeneuve to join Brest fleet, to overpower British Channel fleet, and to convoy troops to England.

Events (as differing from plan):

1805. Villeneuve did not meet Rochefort squadron. Nelson did not wait in the West Indies. Warned Admiralty. Returned to the Channel. Villeneuve checked by Calder at the Battle of Cape Finisterre. Retreated towards Ferrol and Vigo. Thence to Cadiz. Brest fleet unable to escape blockade. French naval plan foiled.

1805. Battle of Trafalgar; French and Spanish fleets destroyed. Nelson killed.

1805. THIRD COALITION:

Austria }
Russia } v. France.
Great Britain }

Events:

1805. Austrian general, Mack, in Bavaria, awaited Russians. Napoleon attacked Mack at Ulm. Mack surrendered. Napoleon entered Vienna.

Archduke Charles attacked the kingdom of Italy. Withdrew after Mack's defeat.

Junction of Austrians with Russians. Bernadotte, from Hanover, joined Napoleon.

Battle of Austerlitz; Napoleon defeated Austrians and Russians.

1805. *Treaty of Pressburg:*

(1) Austria to cede Venetia, Istria, and Dalmatia to France. (Austria retained Trieste.)
(2) Austria to cede Tyrol to Bavaria.
(3) Other lands ceded to Baden and Wurtemberg.

VASSAL STATES:

Naples. Joseph Bonaparte, King. (Ferdinand continued to rule in Sicily.)
Lucca. Élise Bonaparte, Princess.
Holland. Louis Bonaparte, King.
Berg. Joachim Murat, Grand Duke.
Italy. Napoleon, King. Eugène de Beauharnais, Viceroy.

1806. CONFEDERATION OF THE RHINE:

Founded by Napoleon as a counterpoise to the power of Austria and Prussia.

Consisted of sixteen large states. Army of 63,000 to support Napoleon. Trained by French officers.

Confederation withdrew from Holy Roman Empire. Francis II dropped title of Holy Roman Emperor. Known henceforth as Francis I, Emperor of Austria.

1806. WAR WITH PRUSSIA:

Frederick William allied with Tsar. Required Napoleon to withdraw west of Rhine.

Napoleon marched against Prussia. Defeated Prussians at Battle of Jena. Davoust defeated Prussians at Battle of Auerstädt.

Fortresses surrendered. Napoleon entered Berlin.

1807. WAR WITH RUSSIA:

(Continuation of War of Third Coalition)
Battle of Eylau; indecisive.
Battle of Friedland; Russians defeated.

1807. TREATY OF TILSIT:

(1) Prussia to lose lands west of the Elbe. These were to form a new kingdom of Westphalia, under Jerome Bonaparte.
(2) Prussia to lose Polish lands, except part of West Prussia. These were to form grand duchy of Warsaw.
(3) Prussia to pay war indemnity.
(4) Prussian army to be limited to 42,000 men.
(5) Alliance of France and Russia.
(6) Tsar agreed to support Continental System.

ZENITH OF NAPOLEON'S POWER:

Great Britain alone against France for the fourth time in ten years.

5. THE DECLINE OF NAPOLEON'S POWER

ECONOMIC WARFARE:

1806–7. *Continental System:*

Established by Napoleon as a means of overcoming Great Britain. Aimed at destroying British trade and making it impossible for Great Britain to maintain her navy.

(1) Blockade of British Isles.
(2) European ports closed to British trade.
(3) France and her allies forbidden to trade with Great Britain.
(4) Neutrals not to touch at a British port before reaching continent.
(5) British merchandise to be destroyed.

1806–7. *Orders in Council:*

The British reply to the Continental System.

(1) Blockade of France and her allies.
(2) Neutrals forbidden to enter continental ports, and those on the way there were to be diverted to British ports.

Effects:

(1) Damage to British trade by the closing of European markets.
(2) Damage to British merchant shipping by privateers.
1807. (3) British seizure of Danish fleet.
(4) Hardship on the continent through the blockade.
(5) Smuggling into Europe.
(6) Growing unpopularity of Napoleon on the continent.
(7) Napoleon issued licences permitting the import of certain classes of British goods.
(8) Irritation of neutrals, especially against Great Britain.

1808–14. PENINSULAR WAR:

Causes:

(1) Portugal refused to accept Continental System. French invasion.
1808. (2) Spain. Napoleon deposed Charles IV and appointed Joseph Bonaparte to be King of Spain.

Events:

1808. French under Dupont defeated at Baylen; 18,000 men captured.

1808. Wellesley in command of British forces in Portugal. Battle of Vimiero; French under Junot defeated. Wellesley superseded on eve of battle by Burrard and Dalrymple. Convention of Cintra; Junot retired with spoils of war. Court-martial on the British generals. Wellesley acquitted and restored to his command.

1808. Joseph Bonaparte in Madrid. Retreated north of the Ebro. Napoleon entered Spain and reached Madrid. Moore (commanding British in absence of Wellesley) retreated to Corunna.

1809. Moore pursued by Soult. Battle of Corunna; French defeated, but Moore was slain.

1809. French captured Saragossa. Soult captured Oporto. Wellesley recovered Oporto. Threatened Soult's communications. Soult retreated into Spain with loss of fifty-eight guns. Wellesley invaded Spain. Battle of Talavera; Wellesley defeated Victor and King Joseph. Wellesley retired into Portugal.

1810. Lines of Torres Vedras constructed. Masséna marched towards Lisbon. Checked by the lines.

1811. Wellesley (now Viscount Wellington) defeated Masséna at Fuentes d'Onoro. Beresford besieged Badajos. Beresford defeated Soult at Albuera. Retreated into Portugal for the winter.

1812. British captured Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos. French weakened by withdrawal of troops for Russian campaign. Wellington in Spain. Battle of Salamanca; Wellington defeated Marmont and entered Madrid. Retired to Ciudad Rodrigo for the winter.

1813. Joseph retired behind the Ebro. Battle of Vittoria; Wellington defeated Joseph and Marshal Jourdan, who lost 150 guns. Soult replaced Jourdan. Wellington captured San Sebastian and Pampeluna.

1814. Wellington (a duke) invaded France. Defeated Soult at Orthez and Toulouse.

1809. AUSTRIAN WAR:

Cause:

Austrian hope that Napoleon could not spare large forces for another war.

Events:

Napoleon occupied Vienna. Austrian army under Archduke Charles north of the Danube.

Battle of Aspern; Napoleon's attempt to cross the Danube checked.

Battle of Wagram; Napoleon defeated Charles, who retired in good order.

1809. *Treaty of Vienna:*
- (*a*) Austria to pay indemnity.
- (*b*) Austrian army limited to 150,000 men.
- (*c*) Austria to cede Galicia to grand duchy of Warsaw.
- (*d*) Austria to cede Illyrian provinces (Carniola, Trieste and Fiume, and parts of Carinthia and Croatia) to France.

1810. Napoleon married Marie Louise, daughter of Francis I, Emperor of Austria.

1812. RUSSIAN WAR:

Causes:
- (1) Friction between Alexander and Napoleon:
  - (*a*) Addition of Galicia to grand duchy of Warsaw.
  - (*b*) French annexation of Oldenburg.
- (2) Alexander's refusal to enforce the Continental System.

Preparations:

Russia:
- (*a*) Made peace with Turkey.
- (*b*) Made agreement with Sweden (Bernadotte).

Napoleon:
- (*a*) Treaty with Prussia; 20,000 men to serve under French orders.
- (*b*) Treaty with Austria; 30,000 men to serve under Austrian command; promise that Illyrian provinces should be restored.
- (*c*) Concentration of army of 600,000 men (100,000 cavalry) in eastern Germany.
- (*d*) Depots of food.

Events:

Invasion of Russia.
Difficulties:
- Commissariat broke down.
- Desertion and sickness.
- Horses affected by Russian pasture.

Russian army under Barclay de Tolly retreated. Napoleon hoped to overtake Barclay before he could be joined by Bagration. Barclay and Bagration met at Smolensk. Barclay continued to retreat. Napoleon reached Smolensk.

Kutusoff replaced Barclay. Resolved to fight. Battle of Borodino. Heavy losses. Napoleon continued his march.

Napoleon reached Moscow. Deserted. Fires.

Kutusoff opened negotiations, really in order to detain Napoleon till winter.

French retreated. Southerly route barred. Return by same route as was followed in the invasion. Russian attacks. Ney and the rearguard. Battle of the Beresina. Napoleon left army and hastened to France. Remnant of army under Murat recrossed Niemen. Loss of over half a million men.

1813. FOURTH COALITION:

Great Britain
Russia
Prussia
Austria (after Bautzen)
v. France.

1813. WAR OF LIBERATION:

The position:

Napoleon still powerful.
Confederation of the Rhine
Italy
faithful to him.
Austria had not yet broken with him.

Events:

Battle of Lutzen. Napoleon defeated Russians and Prussians.
Battle of Bautzen. Napoleon defeated Russians and Prussians. Austria offered mediation and, upon its rejection, joined Coalition.
Battle of Dresden. Napoleon defeated allies. Allied armies concentrated upon Leipzig.
Battle of Leipzig. Napoleon defeated by the allies. Fled into France.
Losses in 1813 as heavy as those in 1812.

1814. *The position:*

Austria recovered Illyrian provinces.
Holland in revolt.
Collapse of Confederation of the Rhine and of kingdom of Westphalia.
Eugène de Beauharnais driven from Italy.
Allies offered terms of peace:
(*a*) Rhine boundary for France.
(*b*) Napoleon to recognise independence of Germany, Italy, Spain, and Holland.
Napoleon refused terms.

1814. *Invasion of France:*

(1) Wellington, from Spain.
(2) Schwarzenberg (Austrians), from Switzerland.
(3) Blucher (Prussians), from the Rhine.
Allies did not co-operate well. Napoleon fought several battles. Defeated Blucher on the Marne. Allies pressed on to Paris.

1814. FALL OF NAPOLEON:

Deposed by Senate. Abdicated a few days later. Permitted to retire to Elba as "Emperor." Louis XVIII restored.

1814. FIRST TREATY OF PARIS:

Terms:

(1) French boundaries of 1st January, 1792. (Avignon, which had been annexed in 1791, was retained.)

(2) Great Britain restored French colonies, except Mauritius, Seychelles, Tobago, and St. Lucia.
(3) Balance of Prussian indemnity under the Treaty of Tilsit was cancelled.
(4) No indemnity from France; no army of occupation; no demand for restoration of works of art.

Criticism:

(*a*) France, though defeated, was larger than before the Revolution.
(*b*) France had enforced payment of indemnities and tributes; yet no indemnity was demanded.
(*c*) France had tried to destroy British commerce; yet French colonies were restored.

1814–15. CONGRESS OF VIENNA:

To settle the affairs of Europe.

1815. THE HUNDRED DAYS:

Napoleon's return:

Napoleon landed in south of France. Welcomed. Reached Paris. Louis XVIII fled. Napoleon again Emperor. Asked for peace. Stated that he would honour the Treaty of Paris.
Allies refused to agree. Alliance renewed. Each power to contribute 150,000 men. Double attack arranged:

British and Prussians from north-east.
Austrians and Russians from east.

The Campaign:

Napoleon with 120,000 men. Marched towards Netherlands. Aimed at preventing junction of British and Prussians. Ney attacked Wellington at Quatre Bras, while Napoleon defeated Blucher at Ligny and compelled him to retreat.
Wellington defeated Ney, but, on account of Blucher's retirement, was compelled to fall back to Waterloo.
Blucher's retreat was parallel to Wellington's. Grouchy pursued Blucher, but could not prevent junction at Waterloo.
Battle of Waterloo; Napoleon hoped to break British left before junction could be made with Prussians. Prussians arrived. General British advance. French ranks broke. Pursuit by Prussian cavalry.
Napoleon fled to Paris. Thence to Rochefort. Surrendered to the *Bellerophon*. St. Helena.

1815. SECOND TREATY OF PARIS:

(1) French boundaries of 1790, but including Avignon.
(2) France to pay indemnity of £28,000,000.
(3) France to receive army of occupation of 150,000 men.
(4) Works of art to be restored.

CAUSES OF NAPOLEON'S FALL:

(1) Possible decline in his military capacity.
(2) Exhaustion of France. Enormous losses in the Peninsula, in Russia, and in the War of Liberation.

(3) National enthusiasm and determination aroused in conquered countries.
(4) British naval strength:
  (a) Blockade of continent.
  (b) Development of British industry and trade. Increase of wealth.
  (c) Enemy colonies captured.
  (d) Communications with Peninsula.

SOME RESULTS OF NAPOLEON'S RULE:
(1) Encouraged growth of military strength among European powers in the nineteenth century.
(2) Disappearance of feudalism in many parts of Europe.
(3) Widespread adoption of the *Code Napoléon.*
(4) Sound government.
(5) Spirit of nationality aroused.

6. THE COLLAPSE AND REVIVAL OF PRUSSIA

1740–86. FREDERICK THE GREAT:

Gained Silesia in Austrian Succession War. Prussia recognised as a great power after Seven Years War.

1772. Gained West Prussia, Ermeland, and Kulmerland in the First Partition of Poland.

Tried to improve dominions. Settlers attracted. But feudalism continued.

Orders of people:
  (a) Nobles. Privileged. Exempt from most of taxation. Held commissions in army.
  (b) Citizens. Engaged in trade.
  (c) Peasants. Serfs. Burdened with weight of taxation. Conscripted for army.

Edicts issued against abuses of serfdom. Ineffective.

Prussian system of government weak, since it depended upon personality of King.

1786–97. FREDERICK WILLIAM II:

Less capable ruler. Growing weakness of the state.

1791. Associated with Leopold II in the Declaration of Pillnitz.

1792–5. War with France. Prussian unwillingness to co-operate with Austria. Peace by Treaty of Basel. Loss of certain Rhenish territories. Compensation farther east. France agreed not to make war on states in North Germany.

Prussian gains from Poland:
1793. From Second Partition: Posen, Thorn, and Danzig.
1795. From Third Partition: Warsaw, and the region south and west of the Niemen.

1797–1840. FREDERICK WILLIAM III:

At peace with France for some years. Took no part in the War of the Second Coalition.

Internal reforms:

(*a*) Improved condition of serfs.
(*b*) Reforms in government of provinces.
(*c*) Tariffs rearranged.
(*d*) Some internal customs abolished.

Third Coalition:

1805. French troops crossed Anspach without permission. Frederick William negotiated with the Tsar, but after French victory at Austerlitz he allied with France and occupied Hanover.

Napoleon negotiated with Great Britain and offered to restore Hanover. Insult to Frederick William, who required Napoleon to withdraw west of the Rhine.

1806. *War with France:*

Battle of Jena; Napoleon defeated Prussians.
Battle of Auerstadt; Davoust defeated Prussians.
Fortresses surrendered. Napoleon entered Berlin. Frederick William retired to East Prussia.

1807. *Treaty of Tilsit:*

(1) Prussia lost lands west of the Elbe.
(2) Prussia lost gains from Partitions of Poland (except West Prussia).
(3) Indemnity.
(4) Army of occupation.
(5) Prussian army limited to 42,000 men.

REORGANISATION OF PRUSSIA:

By Stein:

(*a*) Serfdom abolished.
(*b*) Class distinctions relaxed. Citizens could hold commissions and could purchase lands of nobles. Nobles could engage in trade.
(*c*) Town councils elected. Controlled some features of local government.
(*d*) State Council of Ministers established.
(*e*) Civil Service improved.

By Hardenberg:

(*a*) Peasants fully freed from control of lords. One-third of lands of peasants surrendered to lords as compensation.
(*b*) Reform of finance.
(*c*) Industry freed from gild control.

By Humboldt:

(*a*) Reform of public schools.
(*b*) Established University of Berlin.

By Scharnhorst and Gneisenau:

(*a*) Incompetent officers removed from the army.

(*b*) Conditions of army service improved. Citizens enlisted. Discipline maintained by imprisonment instead of flogging.
(*c*) Short service system. Large reserve army built up.

WAR OF 1812:

Prussia forced to assist Napoleon with 20,000 men. Prussians under Yorck served under Marshal Macdonald at siege of Riga. After French retreat Yorck came to terms with Russians Frederick William endorsed Yorck's action.

1813–15. WARS OF LIBERATION AND HUNDRED DAYS:

Prussia took part in the battles in Saxony and at Leipzig. Invaded France and assisted in the first overthrow of Napoleon.
Blucher at Waterloo.

1815. CONGRESS OF VIENNA:

Prussia recovered much of her lost territory, though most of the Polish lands remained Russian, and Prussia received other lands as compensation.
Prussia once more a great power.

7. EASTERN EUROPE BETWEEN 1789 AND 1815

POLAND:

Causes of weakness:

(1) Elective monarchy. Frequent civil wars.
(2) Nobles privileged. Peasants were serfs.
(3) Religious dissensions. Most of the Poles were Roman Catholic. The Lutherans relied on Prussia and the Orthodox on Russia.
(4) Frontiers open to invasion.

1772 *First Partition:*

Some provinces lost.

TURKISH WAR:

$\left.\begin{array}{l}\text{Austria}\\ \text{Russia}\end{array}\right\}$ *v.* Turkey.

1785. Catherine II annexed the Crimea.

Difficulties of allies:

Joseph II had to deal with discontent in Hungary and in the Netherlands.
1788. Catherine II had to repel Swedish attack by Gustavus III.
1790. Leopold II succeeded Joseph II.
1791. Peace of Sistova. Between Austria and Turkey.
1792. Peace of Jassy. Between Russia and Turkey.

POLAND:

New constitution:

(*a*) Hereditary monarchy.
(*b*) Privileges of nobles limited.
(*c*) Legislature of two Chambers set up.
(*d*) Catholicism to be state religion, with toleration to Lutherans and Orthodox.
(*e*) Serfdom retained. Its burdens diminished.

Hereditary crown offered to Elector of Saxony.

Attitude of neighbouring powers:

Russia dissatisfied. Preferred disorder in Poland.
Prussia dissatisfied. Feared that a united kingdom of Saxony and Poland would be a menace to Prussia.
Austria approved, for the reason that Prussia disapproved. But Austria was engaged in the French War and could not intervene.

1793. *Second Partition:*

Prussia: Thorn, Posen, Danzig, and other territories.
Russia: Volhynia and Podolia.

Kosciuszko:

Led a patriotic rising. Captured Cracow and Warsaw. Nobles alienated by concessions to serfs. Townsmen inactive. Russians invaded Poland and defeated Kosciuszko. Prussians and Austrians invaded Poland.

1795. *Third Partition (final):*

Russia: Between the lower Dwina and Galicia.
Prussia: Between the Bug and the Niemen, including Warsaw.
Austria: Territory south of Warsaw.

RUSSIA:

1796–1801. *Paul I:*

Took part in War of Second Coalition. Withdrew.
Formed Northern League to resist British action in searching neutral ships.

1801–25. *Alexander I:*

Reversed his father's policy. Northern League ended.
Early reforms:
(*a*) Improvement in condition of serfs.
(*b*) Attention to education.
(*c*) Encouraged industry and trade.

1805–7. Russia took part in War of Third Coalition. Treaty of Tilsit. Alliance with France.
Speranski became Tsar's chief adviser. Reorganised Russian financial system and codified Russian law. Opposed by nobles who disliked French alliance. Dismissed in 1812.

1812. French alliance broken. War of 1812 followed. War of Liberation. War of Hundred Days.

1815. Tsar present at Congress of Vienna. Proposed the formation of the Holy Alliance. Tsar posed as liberator of Europe. Soon passed under influence of Metternich, with whom he co-operated in the policy of repression.

SWEDEN:

Gustavus III:

Withdrew from Russian War on account of attack by Denmark.

1792– *Gustavus IV:*

1809. Friendly with Great Britain. Would not enforce the Continental System. War with Russia. Russians conquered
1809. Finland. Continental System enforced. Gustavus IV deposed.

Bernadotte:

Charles XIII became King. No children. Bernadotte became Crown Prince. Controlled Government of the country.

1812. Bernadotte allied with Tsar. Sweden renounced claim to Finland in return for promise of Norway at the peace.

1813. Bernadotte took part in War of Liberation.

1814. Treaty of Kiel. Between Sweden and Denmark. Sweden to receive Norway in return for Swedish Pomerania.

1815. Congress of Vienna recognised Norway as belonging to Sweden, but assigned Swedish Pomerania to Prussia.

TURKEY:

1789– *Selim III:*

1807. Made efforts to avert decay of Turkish Empire. Army reorganised.

1807–12. *War with Russia:*

1812. Napoleon suggested alliance of Turkey and France against Russia, and promised to restore Crimea to Turkey.

Tsar offered to restore Moldavia and Wallachia, which he had conquered, to Turkey and to retain only Bessarabia.

1812. Treaty of Bucharest; peace concluded on the Tsar's terms.

8. THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA AND THE CONCERT OF EUROPE

THE CONGRESS:

All great powers and most smaller powers represented by sovereigns or statesmen. Metternich was President. Great influence over the Congress. Work of Congress done through Committees. Some powers already committed to secret agreements.

ITS AIMS:

(1) To settle the affairs of Europe. (Impossibility of returning to pre-war conditions.)

(2) To establish a ring of strong states round France.
(3) To reward the opponents of France and to punish her allies.
(4) To base its decisions on the principle of "legitimacy," i.e. the restoration of "rightful" rulers.
  But (*a*) Holy Roman Empire could not be restored.
    (*b*) Congress disliked republics and would not restore Genoa and Venice.
(5) To secure permanent peace by discouraging revolutionary movements.

TERRITORIAL ARRANGEMENTS:

(1) German Confederation formed, under leadership of Austria. Metternich opposed suggestions for closer union.
(2) Austria recovered Lombardy and Venetia. (She had already recovered Illyrian provinces.)
(3) Ex-Empress Marie Louise received Parma.
(4) Prussia recovered her Rhenish lands and received Cologne and Treves, Swedish Pomerania, and part of Saxony. Most of the Prussian share of Polish territory was left in the hands of Russia.
(5) Russia retained her Polish lands and Finland.
(6) Sweden received Norway.
(7) Holland received Belgium (Austrian Netherlands).
(8) Swiss Confederation restored, with three cantons added to it.
(9) Sardinia recovered Piedmont, Nice, and Savoy, and received Genoa.
(10) Kings of Naples and Spain restored.
(11) Pope recovered States of the Church.
(12) Great Britain retained some of her colonial conquests, including Malta, Mauritius, and Cape of Good Hope. Great Britain paid £6,000,000 to Holland as compensation.
(13) Hanover recognised as a kingdom.

N.B. (*a*) Prussia became natural protector of Germany against France.
  (*b*) France hemmed in on the east by four powers, Dutch, Prussian, Swiss, and Piedmontese.

CRITICISM OF THE ARRANGEMENTS:

Made in the interests of sovereigns and not of nations.
  Belgium resented connection with Holland.
  Norway resented connection with Sweden.
  Poles wanted independence.
  Germans wanted unity.
  Italians wanted unity.
Much of the work of the Congress was undone during the nineteenth century.

SLAVE TRADE:

France, Spain, and Holland agreed to its abolition. (Great Britain had already abolished it.) 1807.

THE BARBARY CORSAIRS:

The Congress approved of measures against them. British
1816. fleet under Lord Exmouth bombarded Algiers. Released a large number of Christian slaves.

1815. THE HOLY ALLIANCE:

Proposed by the Tsar. Supported by Metternich. Consisted of Russia, Prussia, and Austria. Great Britain refused to join.

Aim:

Nominal:

To direct European affairs on Christian principles.

Real:

To suppress revolutionary movements and maintain absolute monarchy everywhere in Europe. It was thought that revolutionary movements were likely to lead to war and that they were unchristian. (But the Alliance was not intended by the Tsar as an instrument of repression.)

Comparison with United Nations:

Both desired to avoid war.

But United Nations includes many states; hopes to secure peace through the vigilance and power of its Security Council; is an alliance of *Nations*.

Alliance included a few great powers; secured peace by suppression of revolutionary movements; was an alliance of *Sovereigns*.

BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY:

To oppose the absolutism favoured by the Holy Alliance. Policy of non-intervention. Each state to settle its internal affairs without interference.

Castlereagh protested against intervention by the Holy Alliance.

Canning was ready to intervene in order to neutralise the intervention of the Holy Alliance.

THE QUADRUPLE ALLIANCE:

Consisted of Great Britain and the three eastern powers.

Aims:

(1) To maintain the Treaty of Paris.

(2) To meet from time to time in congresses to settle matters of importance in Europe.

Great Britain was not committed to the support of a definite line of policy at these congresses.

9. THE BREAK-UP OF THE CONCERT OF EUROPE

1818. CONGRESS OF AACHEN:

No serious dissension.

Army of occupation withdrawn from France.

France invited to join the Quadruple Alliance. The inclusion of France changed the original aim of the Alliance (which was, substantially, to limit French power).

Tsar proposed:
- (1) That the Quadruple Alliance should undertake general supervision of European affairs.
- (2) That periodic congresses should be held.

Great Britain:
- (1) Opposed interference in internal affairs of other states.
- (2) Agreed to send representatives to congresses summoned for specific purposes. Opposed periodic meetings.

SPAIN:

Constitution of 1812 annulled by Ferdinand VII.

1820. Revolt of Riego at Cadiz. Spread to north of Spain. Demand for restoration of constitution. Granted by Ferdinand VII.

NAPLES:

Discontent:

Administration corrupt.
Peasants oppressed.
Army administration unsatisfactory.

Carbonari. Secret society with revolutionary aims.

1820. Revolt. Encouraged by example of Spain. Demanded Spanish constitution of 1812. Granted by Ferdinand I.

1820. CONGRESS OF TROPPAU:

Summoned by Metternich, who was more alarmed at Neapolitan than at Spanish rising.

Issue of the Protocol of Troppau. The powers claimed the right to intervene in countries where revolts had broken out. Castlereagh protested.

1821. CONGRESS OF LAIBACH:

Ferdinand I of Naples present. Disregarded oath to maintain constitution. Congress authorised Austria to suppress constitutional movement in Naples. Ferdinand again absolute.

PIEDMONT:

Victor Emmanuel I absolute.

1821. Constitutional movement. Demanded Spanish constitution of 1812. Victor Emmanuel abdicated. Charles Felix became King. In his absence Charles Albert acted as regent. Granted constitution. Charles Felix returned and annulled it. Austrians invaded Piedmont and defeated revolutionists at Battle of Novara.

1822. CONGRESS OF VERONA:

Authorised French intervention to restore absolutism in Spain.

SPAIN:

1823. French invaded Spain. Defeated Constitutional party. Ferdinand VII again absolute. Reprisals.

SPANISH COLONIES:

In revolt since 1809. Holy Alliance intervention threatened. Canning recognised independence of South American republics.

1823. President James Monroe, of the United States, issued the Monroe Doctrine—that the United States did not admit that there was any further field in America for colonial extension by European powers. Holy Alliance protested, but took no further action.

PORTUGAL:

1820. Constitutional movement.
John VI in Brazil.

1821. John returned to Portugal. Granted constitution. Miguel, the King's second son, supported by the French, opposed the constitution. Revolted. Canning sent fleet to the Tagus. Miguel's revolt collapsed.

1822. Brazil became independent of Portugal, with Pedro, John's eldest son, as Emperor.

1825. John VI died. Pedro granted new constitution to Portugal and then resigned Portuguese crown to his daughter Maria.
Miguel attempted to secure throne. British assistance to the party of Maria, which was victorious.

10. METTERNICH AND THE GERMAN CONFEDERATION

GERMAN CONFEDERATION:

Thirty-eight states.

Diet:

To meet at Frankfort under Austrian presidency. Represented state rulers. More votes to large states than to smaller.
Minor matters settled by majority vote.
Important matters settled by two-thirds vote.
Constitutional matters settled by unanimous vote.

States:

Independent in most respects. But:
(*a*) Might not wage war against other members of Confederation.
(*b*) Might not make treaties with foreign powers against other members.
(*c*) Bound to support Confederation when it was at war.

Policy of smaller states:

To maintain independence, and to guard against encroachments by Austria and Prussia. They opposed suggestions for strengthening the Confederation.

Non-German interests of rulers:

Austria: Large part of dominions outside Confederation.
Hanover: Great Britain.
Holstein: Denmark.
Luxemburg: Holland.
Prussia: East Prussia.
Questions affecting Germany might be settled in accordance with the non-German interests of members of the Diet.

GERMAN NATIONAL FEELING:

Many German patriots hoped for the formation of a single state, based on nationality and language.

But (1) Rulers of lesser states were certain to oppose.
(2) Prussia not yet strong enough to achieve German unity.
(3) Austria had extensive non-German interests.

METTERNICH:

Austrian Chancellor. Maintained despotic government and opposed all change.

In Austria:

Diversity of races. Could be ruled only by the prevention of reforms.

(*a*) Censorship of the press.
(*b*) Exclusion of foreigners of Liberal opinions.
(*c*) Control of university teaching.
(*d*) Suppressing revolutionary movements.

In the German Confederation:

Similar system.
1817. Wartburg Festival.
1819. Murder of Kotzebue.
Metternich alarmed. Called meeting of state representatives at Carlsbad.

1819. *Carlsbad Decrees:*

Drawn up at Carlsbad. Sanctioned by Diet at Frankfort. Enforced rigidly.

(*a*) University teaching under close inspection.
(*b*) Professors and students to be expelled if they showed dangerous tendencies.
(*c*) Student associations forbidden without permission.
(*d*) Strict control of press.
(*e*) Special commissions to seek out traces of conspiracy.

LIBERAL ACTIVITY IN GERMANY AFTER 1830:

Constitutions in a few states, e.g., Hanover and Saxony.
(*a*) Press restrictions reduced.
(*b*) Trial by jury.
(*c*) Rulers retained much personal power.

STRENGTHENING OF METTERNICH'S SYSTEM AFTER 1830:

(*a*) Political societies and meetings forbidden.
(*b*) Press restrictions renewed throughout the Confederation.
(*c*) Control of universities strengthened.

1818. ZOLLVEREIN:

Customs Union under Prussian leadership. Internal customs abolished. Revenue divided in proportion to population of states in Union. Many North German states joined.

Other customs unions formed under Saxony and Bavaria, but these merged into Zollverein. Austria not a member.

PRUSSIA:

Little agitation for constitution in lifetime of Frederick William III.

1840. Frederick William III died. Frederick William IV became King. Released political prisoners. Relaxed censorship. Growing demand for Prussian Parliament.

1847. Provincial Assemblies summoned to meet together as a United Diet. Limited power. Liberals disappointed. Petitioned King to establish a really representative Parliament.

11. THE RESTORED BOURBON MONARCHY IN FRANCE

CHARACTER OF THE RESTORATION:

Restoration of the Bourbon monarchy. Not a restoration of the *ancien régime*.

1814. THE CHARTER:

The constitution of France till 1848.

(1) Government in hands of King. Powers exercised by ministers. (King not a nonentity.)
  (*a*) Command of army and navy.
  (*b*) War and treaties.
  (*c*) Appointments to public service and to Chamber of Peers.
  (*d*) The proposing of legislation.

(2) Legislature:
  (*a*) Chamber of Peers. Some hereditary nobles and some members appointed by King.
  (*b*) Chamber of Deputies. Elected for five years.
    Members had to be forty years old and to pay 1,000 francs per annum in direct taxes.
    Electors had to be thirty years old and to pay 300 francs per annum in direct taxes.
  Laws to be proposed by Crown.
  No tax to be levied without consent of Legislature.

(3) Other provisions:
  (i) Trial by jury.
  (ii) Freedom of press.
  (iii) Titles to property confirmed.
  (iv) Religious toleration.
  (v) Napoleonic nobility recognised.

Importance of the Charter:

(1) Accepted much of the work of the Revolution and the Empire.
(2) Not inconsistent with Divine Right. Granted by Crown; not forced upon Crown.

PARTIES:

Ultra-Royalists:

Returned *émigrés*. More royalist than the King. Not conspicuously loyal. Led by Count of Artois.

Aims:
(1) Recovery of ancient noble privileges.
(2) Acquisition of political power (not held in pre-Revolution times) by nobles.

Methods:
(1) Charter a starting point. Violations and strained interpretations.
(2) Revival of power of Church.
(3) Suppression of freedom of the press.

Moderates:

Loyal to Crown. Aimed at maintaining Charter. Several groups. Ineffective, on account of divisions.

Left:

Republicans, Bonapartists, etc. Small representation in Chamber.

THE KINGS:

1814–24. *Louis XVIII:*
Moderate. Little sympathy with Ultras.

1824–30. *Charles X:*
Extreme.

MINISTERS:

1815–18. *Richelieu:*

Moderate. Ultra majority in first Chamber of Deputies but not in Chamber of Peers. King and Richelieu tried to restrain Ultras. Amnesty Bill passed (though Ney was shot). New electoral law, which would have strengthened Ultras, was rejected by Peers. Ultras proposed partial repudiation of Napoleonic debt. Chamber dissolved.

1818. New Chamber. Moderate majority. War indemnity paid off. Army of occupation withdrawn.

New electoral law passed, advantageous to Moderates. Growing strength of Left. Richelieu resigned.

1818–20. *Decazes:*

1819. Press law. Censorship abolished. Trial by jury instituted for press cases. Moderates alarmed. Some veered round to Ultras.

1820. Murder of Duke of Berry. Advantage to Ultras. Decazes resigned.

1820–1. *Richelieu:*

Electoral law revised, to advantage of Ultras. Press censorship restored.

1821–7. *Villèle:*

Reactionary, but cautious and able.
Vigorous foreign policy, to distract popular attention from restrictions on liberty. Expedition into Spain.
Press censorship strengthened.
New tariff.
Public education under control of university.
After accession of Charles X, compensation in the form of pensions was given to *émigrés* for the loss of their lands by reducing rate of interest on National Debt and using the money thus saved for this purpose.
Jesuits permitted to return.
Villèle lost confidence of extremists of both sides. Resigned.

1828–9. *Martignac:*

Hostile majority in Chamber of Deputies. Policy of conciliation. Press law modified. Jesuit activity limited.
Failed to win confidence of extremists. Fell.

1829–30. *Polignac:*

Policy of reaction. Chamber of Deputies petitioned King to dismiss Polignac. King dissolved Chamber. New Chamber had larger majority against Polignac.

1830 REVOLUTION:

(July). *Ordinances:*

Issued by the King.
(*a*) No newspapers without assent of Government.
(*b*) Recent elections annulled.
(*c*) Electoral law altered.
(*d*) Date of new elections fixed.

Revolt:

By deputies, journalists, and workmen. Barricades in Paris. Fighting. Troops withdrawn.

Provisional Government:

Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, appointed Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom.
Charles X withdrew ordinances. Too late. Abdicated in favour of his grandson. But Louis Philippe became King.

Results:

(1) No more Divine Right.
(2) Very slight changes in the constitution.
(3) Ultras no longer powerful.
(4) Reversal of one feature of Vienna settlement.

12. BELGIAN INDEPENDENCE

EARLIER HISTORY OF THE NETHERLANDS:

In Middle Ages:

Seventeen provinces under Burgundy and, later, under Spain.

1572–1609. *Revolt:*

Southern provinces recovered by Spain. Became Spanish Netherlands (Belgium).

Northern provinces became independent. Became United Provinces (Holland).

Spanish Netherlands:

Became Austrian Netherlands after 1713.

United Provinces:

Aristocratic republic under Prince of Orange as Stadtholder.

French conquest:

During the French Revolutionary War. Austrian Netherlands added to France. United Provinces became Batavian republic. Afterwards, kingdom of Holland under Louis Bonaparte.

1814. KINGDOM OF HOLLAND:

Under Prince of Orange as King, with extensive powers. States-General possessed certain rights.

1815. CONGRESS OF VIENNA:

Added Belgium to Holland, to form a strong state north-east of France.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN BELGIUM AND HOLLAND:

(1) Language.
(2) Religion. Belgians Catholic; Dutch Protestant.
(3) Dutch were a colonising and commercial race; Belgians were mining and manufacturing.
(4) Belgians outnumbered Dutch.
(5) Dutch inclined to despise Belgians.

CONSTITUTION OF UNITED KINGDOM:

States-General established. Fifty-five members from each part of the kingdom, despite difference of population.

BELGIAN GRIEVANCES:

(1) Exclusion from most official posts.
(2) States-General met regularly at The Hague—never in Belgium.
(3) Government able to control States-General. Belgians unable to exert effective influence.
(4) The official language was Dutch.
(5) Debt burden of the two countries very unequal; taxation spread uniformly over the kingdom.

(6) New taxes on flour and meat.
(7) Determination of the Government to control education; Catholic bishops wanted to direct it.

ADVANTAGES OF UNION:

Dutch colonies provided markets for Belgian manufactured goods.

1830. THE REVOLT:

Exhibition at Brussels. News of the July Revolution in Paris caused outbreak. Prince of Orange (King's eldest son) unable to conciliate rebels.
Army of 10,000 men sent to Brussels. Driven out. Retired to Antwerp.
National Congress met. Declared Belgium to be independent.

ATTITUDE OF THE POWERS:

Holy Alliance interested at this time in Polish affairs and could not intervene.
Great Britain and France well disposed to Belgium.
Conference at London. Powers recognised Belgian independence.
Crown offered to Duke of Nemours; unacceptable to Great Britain. Then to Leopold of Saxe-Coburg; accepted.

STRUGGLE:

1831. Dutch invaded Belgium. French sent army against Dutch. French and Dutch at length withdrew from Belgium, but Dutch remained in Antwerp.
1832. Antwerp taken from the Dutch.

1839. TREATY OF LONDON:

Belgian independence and neutrality recognised by all the powers, including Holland.

12. FRANCE UNDER LOUIS PHILIPPE

EARLY LIFE OF LOUIS PHILIPPE:

Fought for France at Valmy and Jemappes. Travelled in many countries. Returned to France at Bourbon restoration. Recovered estates. Entered Chamber of Peers. Liberal opinions. Association with bourgeois and even with workmen.

1830. CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES AT ACCESSION:

(1) Royal power to make ordinances restricted.
(2) Chambers could propose legislation.
(3) Press censorship abolished.
(4) Slight extension of franchise.
Monarchy depended on support of bourgeois (wealthy traders and manufacturers). Opposed by working classes.

PARTIES:

Progressive:
(1) Aimed at democratic and social reform at home.
(2) Vigorous foreign policy on behalf of oppressed peoples.

Conservative:
Opposed to changes in direction of democracy.

Legitimists:
Schemed for accession of Count of Chambord.

Bonapartists:
Cultivated the "Napoleonic legend."

Republicans:
Wanted a republic.

DISTURBANCES:

Legitimist attempt at La Vendée.
Republican outbreaks in Paris and at Lyons.
Strikes.
Attempts to assassinate the king.

REPRESSION:

(*a*) Government sanction required for associations.
(*b*) Censorship of press.
(*c*) Prosecution of journalists.
(*d*) New courts and new offences.

NAPOLEONIC LEGEND:

Glorification of Napoleon. A hero, and a regenerator of society. Contrast of Orleanist with Napoleonic régime.
Yet Louis Philippe patronised the movement:
Arc de Triomphe completed.
Streets named after Napoleon's battles.
1840 Reburial of Napoleon's body in France.

FOREIGN POLICY:

Not consistent. Vigorous foreign policy necessary to conciliate people. Yet it would arouse the apprehensions of the powers.

Thiers:
Advocated strong policy. Louis Philippe supported Mehemet Ali in his quarrel with the Sultan. Quadruple Alliance supported Sultan. France isolated. Thiers wanted war, but Louis Philippe drew back. Thiers fell. 1840.

Guizot:
Favoured peace. Friendly relations with Great Britain. Louis Philippe's double-dealing in the question of the Spanish marriages. Lost friendship of Great Britain. Gained no prestige at home or abroad. 1846.

GROWTH OF ABSOLUTISM:

Control of Chamber of Deputies by corrupt means. Limited franchise. Many deputies and electors held official posts.

INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION:

Extension of factory system. Working classes suffered from long hours, low wages, unsatisfactory conditions, labour of children.

Socialism propounded by Proudhon, Leroux, and Louis Blanc.

Workers discontented because of their exclusion from political power.

1848. REVOLUTION:

(Feb.). "Reform banquets" forbidden by the Government.

Rioting in Paris. Barricades. Troops refused to fire. Louis Philippe alarmed. Concessions. Guizot retired. Street fighting. Demand for a republic. Louis Philippe abdicated.

CAUSES OF FALL OF LOUIS PHILIPPE:

(1) Reliance for support upon one class, the bourgeois, which had no right or fitness to control state. More interested in acquisition of wealth than of political power.

(2) No programme of political and social reform; this was left to the Republicans.

(3) No vigorous foreign policy. Bonapartists profited by French desire for glory.

14. REVOLUTION AND REACTION IN THE AUSTRIAN EMPIRE

AUSTRIAN EMPIRE BEFORE 1848:

Ferdinand I:

1835. Succeeded Francis I. Little capacity. Government carried on by Metternich and other ministers. Lack of co-operation among ministers. System of repression not fully maintained.

Unrest after 1840:

Many races in the Empire. Demand for independence, partial or total, of Austrian rule. Tendency for Empire to split up into many states owing only nominal allegiance to Emperor. Government able to play off one group against another.

REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS:

Lombardy and Venetia:

Revolt. Aimed at total expulsion of Austrians from Italy. Austrians retired from Milan to the Quadrilateral.

Hungary:

Backward. Medieval rather than modern. Division of people into nobles (privileged) and peasants (serfs). Peasants paid taxation. Not represented in Diet.

Diet. Upper Chamber of great nobles. Chamber of Deputies elected by local Assemblies, which themselves represented lesser nobility. Met every third year. Aimed at securing for Hungary equality with Austria.

1844. Secured recognition of Magyar language as official. Refused to recognise language of Croats and Serbs.

Party of advanced reform. Led by Kossuth. Aimed at:
(a) Abolition of serfdom and of noble privileges.
(b) Equal rights and liability for all.
(c) Freedom of public meeting and of the press.
(d) Diet to represent whole nation and to control taxation and legislation.
(e) Hungary to be on an equal footing with Austria.

1848 (3 Mar.). Kossuth, in the Diet, denounced Vienna Government. Diet resolved to demand constitution for Hungary.

Ferdinand granted Hungarian demand.

March Laws. Passed by Diet at Pressburg. Reactionary party in Diet offered no opposition, on account of force of public opinion.
(a) Abolition of serfdom.
(b) Diet to be a representative Parliament meeting at Budapesth.
(c) Freedom of the press.
(d) Equality of Hungary with Austria. Emperor, as King of Hungary, to be the sole link with Austria.
(e) Ministry responsible to Diet.

Ferdinand assented to March Laws. Hungarian army raised. Hungarian flag adopted. Hungarian ambassadors appointed.

Vienna:

(Mar.). Revolt of workmen and university students. Demand for dismissal of Metternich. Metternich fled to England. Collapse of his system of repression.

Ferdinand promised:
(a) Constitution in Austria.
(b) Abolition of press censorship.
(c) Establishment of National Guard.

Diet representative of all parts of Empire summoned to frame constitution.

(Apr.). Constitution proclaimed before meeting of Diet:
(a) To apply to the whole of the Empire except Hungary, Croatia, and Transylvania.
(b) Reichstag of two Chambers.
(c) Ministers to be responsible to Reichstag.
(d) Limited franchise.

(May). Second Revolt in Vienna. Due to dissatisfaction with franchise proposal. Flight of Emperor to Innsbruck.

Government attempted:
(a) To disband "Central Committee," which controlled National Guard.
(b) To disband "Academic Legion," a brigade of students.

Failed. Government changed policy:

(a) Constitution to be revised by a Constituent Assembly of one Chamber.

(b) Universal suffrage.

1848 (July). Meeting of Austrian Diet, or Constituent Assembly Czech deputies outnumbered German. Little accomplished, but serfdom was abolished throughout the Empire.

(Oct.). Third Revolt in Vienna. Caused by dispatch of troops to Hungary. Murder of Latour, Minister for War. Emperor retired to Olmutz. Slavs in Austrian Diet removed to Brunn, though Germans remained in Vienna.

Bohemia:

Growth of feeling of nationality among the Czechs. Revival of Czech language. Czechs demanded and were granted a constitutional government in which Germans and Czechs would be of equal status.

Disagreements between Czechs and Germans.

Germans wished Bohemia to be represented in German Parliament at Frankfort and to be included in united Germany.

(June). Czechs wanted Bohemia to become independent, subject only to the Emperor. Organised a Pan-Slavic Congress at Prague as a counter-demonstration to the Frankfort Parliament.

REACTION:

Emperor at Innsbruck. Rallying point for reactionaries and all supporters of the court. Divisions encouraged in the ranks of the rebels.

Bohemia:

(June). Fighting at Prague between Czechs and Germans.

Windischgrätz bombarded Prague. Order restored. Bohemian movement collapsed.

Italy:

(July). Radetzky held the Quadrilateral. Defeated Piedmontese at Custozza.

(Aug.). Austrians recovered Milan.

Hungary and Croatia:

Minor races (Croats and Serbs of Croatia, and Roumanians of Transylvania) demanded privileges of the Hungarian Diet. Refused. Short-sighted Magyar policy, in view of coming struggle.

Jellachich, a Croat, became Governor of Croatia. Head of national movement against Hungary. Croatian Diet summoned. Ordered separation of Croatia from Hungary.

Batthyany, Hungarian Prime Minister, complained to Emperor. Jellachich suspended from office, but restored.

Jellachich invaded Hungary. Hungarian Diet dissolved by Emperor, but refused to disperse. Jellachich defeated by Hungarians at Veldencze. Retreated.

Vienna:
1848 Jellachich marched towards Vienna. Joined Windischgratz.
(Oct.). Vienna besieged. Hungarians marched to relieve it.
Defeated by Jellachich at Schwechat. Fall of Vienna.
(Oct.). Constituent Assembly moved to Kremsier, near Olmutz.
1849 Constitution (two Chambers) proclaimed. Constituent
(Mar.). Assembly dissolved.

1849. AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN WAR:
1848 Ferdinand I abdicated in favour of Francis Joseph. Schwarzen-
(Dec.). berg became Chancellor.
Francis Joseph annulled Hungarian constitution. Declared Austrian Empire to be one and indivisible.
Hungarian Diet declared Francis Joseph to be a usurper until he had been crowned in Hungary. Magyars regarded themselves as fighting for a lawful sovereign against a usurper.
1849 Windischgratz occupied Budapesth and defeated Magyars under
(Jan.). Dembinski at Kápolna. Hungarian rally under Gorgei.
(Apr.). Recovered Budapesth. Drove Austrians out of the country.
(Apr.). Diet proclaimed Hungarian republic. Kossuth President.
Tsar Nicholas I alarmed. Francis Joseph appealed for help.
Russians invaded Hungary. Dembinski overthrown at
(Aug.). Temesvar. Gorgei overthrown at Vilagos. Kossuth escaped
into Turkey.
Hungarian constitution abolished. Croatia and Transylvania lost provincial liberties.

RESULTS OF THE MOVEMENT:
(1) Abolition of serfdom.
(2) Government devoted attention to social and economic questions.

REASONS FOR FAILURE OF RISINGS:
(1) No common aim or action among different races.
(2) Attitude of Magyars to minor races in Hungary.
(3) Central direction (from Innsbruck) of the forces of reaction.
(4) Loyalty of the army to the Emperor.
(5) Ability of generals (Radetzky, Windischgràtz, Jellachich).
(6) Russian intervention.

15. REVOLUTION AND REACTION IN GERMANY

AIMS OF GERMAN LIBERALS:
(1) Constitutional liberty.
(2) German unity.

1848. CONSTITUTIONAL MOVEMENT:
Constitutions granted in many states.

PRUSSIA:
1848. Disturbances in Berlin. Frederick William IV abolished censorship of the press. Again summoned the Prussian United Diet. Diet followed by a Constituent Assembly.

Continued disturbances. Barricades. Further concessions. Troops withdrawn from Berlin. National Guard formed. King associated himself with Liberals. Promised to support movement for German unity.

1848 (Dec.). Constituent Assembly dissolved. Constitution proclaimed by the Crown. Landtag of two Chambers. Disputes arose. Modifications proposed.

1850 (Feb.). Constitution revised.

1848 MOVEMENT FOR GERMAN UNITY:

(Mar.). Informal meeting of German Liberals at Heidelberg.

(Apr.). *Vorparlament*, popularly elected.

(May). National Assembly (Constituent Parliament) met at Frankfort. Princes were powerless. German Diet sanctioned the Assembly.

Frankfort Parliament:

Necessity for immediate action, while Austria and Prussia were unable to prevent it. Time wasted in abstract debates.

Difficulties:

(1) Boundaries of united Germany.
(2) Headship of united Germany.

Austrian dominions were partly within and partly outside the German Confederation:

(*a*) If the whole Austrian Empire were included, the new state would not be wholly German.
(*b*) If only the distinctively German provinces were included, the Austrian Empire would be split up. Austria would not agree to this.

Assembly excluded Austria altogether, and offered the headship of united Germany to Prussia. Proposed that Frederick William IV should become German Emperor.

1849 (Apr.). Frederick William IV refused, because:

(*a*) The position was one of limited authority.
(*b*) Of his respect for the House of Hapsburg.
(*c*) Acceptance would involve war with Austria.
(*d*) He disliked accepting an Imperial crown from the representatives of the people. He would receive it only from his fellow-princes.

Constitution drawn up at Frankfort accepted by twenty-eight smaller states, but rejected by Austria and Prussia and four other kingdoms, Hanover, Saxony, Bavaria, and Wurtemberg.

Frankfort Parliament removed to Stuttgart.

(June). Dispersed.

MOVEMENT FOR UNITY UNDER PRUSSIA:

1849. Frederick William IV proposed closer union under Prussian leadership. Membership not to be compulsory. It was hoped that many states would join. Saxony and Hanover supported Prussia at first. League of Three Kings.

Another National Parliament summoned to meet at Erfurt. Hanover and Saxony left the League of Three Kings and joined Bavaria and Wurtemberg to form League of Four Kings, in opposition to the Union.

Austria, under Schwarzenberg, summoned Diet of German Confederation.

1850. Crisis in Hesse-Cassel. Elector annulled constitution and withdrew from Prussian Union. People appealed to Prussia; Elector, to the Diet. Test of strength between Prussia, with the Union, and Austria, with the Confederation.

Prussia declined to fight. Austrians and Bavarians subjugated Hessians.

(Nov.). Convention of Olmutz. Prussian Union to be dissolved. German Confederation to be restored.

But Austria was not admitted to the Zollverein.

16. THE EASTERN QUESTION—TO THE TREATY OF PARIS, 1856

TURKISH EMPIRE:

Formerly extensive. Included Balkan Peninsula (except Montenegro), Asia Minor, Syria, Mesopotamia, Arabia, Egypt, and north coast of Africa. Declined during the eighteenth century. Central Government unable to control governors of remote provinces, some of whom were only nominally subject to Sultan.

Occasional barbaric outbursts against the Christian peoples (Greeks, Roumanians, Bulgarians, Serbs) in the Empire. European sympathy with the oppressed. Fear of Russian aggression in the Balkans. Jealousies of the European powers.

1774. Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji. Russia obtained right to protect Christian inhabitants of Danubian provinces.

EUROPEAN PROBLEM:

To obtain relief for Christian peoples in the Turkish Empire without sanctioning an increase of Russian power.

SERBS:

1804. Rising under Karageorge. Supported by Russia till 1812. Turks recovered Serbia.

Rising renewed under Milosh Obrenovitch.

1820. Milosh recognised as "Prince of the Serbians."

1830. Serbia practically independent under princes of the Obrenovitch line.

GREEKS:

Oppressed by Turks. Heavy taxation. Brutal treatment. Religion tolerated. Revival of Greek national spirit. Greek literature and language.

1814. Hetairia Philike. Society of Greeks at Odessa. To secure Greek independence and, ultimately, to expel Turks from Europe.

1821–9. *War in the Morea:*

Greeks led by Ypsilanti. Great cruelty on both sides. Greeks
1821. massacred Turkish peasants. Turks hanged Greek Patriarch at Constantinople. European sympathy with Greeks. Assistance with money and volunteers.

Difficulties of the powers:

(1) Holy Alliance could not, on Christian principles, intervene to put down the revolt.
(2) Great Britain and Austria reluctant to weaken Turkey, lest Russia be strengthened.
(3) Greek success would encourage other discontented peoples in Europe.

1825. Egyptian help for Turkey. Ibrahim Pasha in the Morea.

1825. Nicholas I, Tsar, determined to intervene. Canning proposed united action.

1826. Sultan refused mediation of Great Britain and Russia.

1827. Great Britain, France, and Russia agreed to compel Sultan to accept mediation. British and French fleets in Turkish waters. Battle of Navarino. Turkish and Egyptian fleets destroyed. Decisive of Greek independence.

1829. Wellington withdrew from participation in the settlement. Russians invaded Turkey. Treaty of Adrianople. Offered Greek freedom under Turkish overlordship. Greeks refused.

1832. Greece fully independent. Otto of Bavaria, King. Moldavia and Wallachia partly freed from Turkish control.

The first step towards the dissolution of the Turkish Empire in Europe. Diplomatic victory for Russia.

SYRIAN QUESTION:

Mehemet Ali:

Viceroy of Egypt. Overran Syria. Sultan sought Russian assistance.

1833. *Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi:*

The Dardanelles to be closed to the warships of all nations except Russia. Great Britain, France, and Austria protested.

1839. *Mehemet Ali:*

Invaded Syria again. French supported Mehemet Ali. Russia supported Turkey. Palmerston intervened to prevent an accession of strength to either France or Russia.

1840. *Quadruple Alliance:*

Great Britain, Russia, Prussia, and Austria. To settle the question by offering terms to Mehemet Ali and compelling him to accept them.

1841. *Treaty of London:*
(1) Mehemet Ali to renounce his claim on Syria.
(2) Mehemet Ali placed under joint guarantee of the powers of the Alliance with regard to his position as hereditary Pasha of Egypt.

1841. *Convention of the Straits:*
The Dardanelles to be closed to the warships of all nations. Russia thus renounced the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi.

Palmerston's action:
Revived British prestige. Sultan less inclined to rely solely on Russia.

1825–55. NICHOLAS I:
Attempted to reach agreement with Great Britain on the Eastern Question:
1844. (1) Visited Great Britain.
(2) Conversation with the British ambassador at St. Petersburg.
Suggested that Great Britain should take Egypt and Cyprus (or Crete), and that Russia should establish principalities in the Balkans.
Great Britain would not agree. Regrettable. The Tsar's proposals might have led to a settlement which other powers would have been compelled to accept.

1854–6. CRIMEAN WAR:
Great Britain
France } v. Russia.
Turkey

Real cause:
British and French suspicion of Russian designs.

Immediate cause:
Dispute about the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem. French supported Roman Catholic claims. Russia supported Greek claims. Great Britain supported France.

Events:
1854. Russian troops invaded Moldavia and Wallachia. British and French fleets in Turkish waters. Austrian and Prussian mediation. Failed. Battle of Sinope; Russians destroyed Turkish fleet. Russian army withdrew from Turkish territory. Russian fleet withdrew to Sebastopol.
1854. British (under Lord Raglan) and French (under Marshal St. Arnaud) invaded the Crimea, in order to destroy Sebastopol. Battle of the Alma. Siege of Sebastopol. Battles
1855. of Balaclava and Inkerman. Sufferings of troops during the winter. Nursing service organised by Florence Nightingale.
1855. Capture of the Malakoff by the French. Attack on the Redan by the British. Fall of Sebastopol.

1856. *Treaty of Paris:*
(1) Conquests to be restored, but Sebastopol not to be refortified.

(2) The Dardanelles to be closed to the warships and open to the trading ships of all nations.
(3) Neither Russia nor Turkey to keep a fleet in the Black Sea.
(4) Navigation of the Danube to be free.
(5) Freedom of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Serbia guaranteed by the powers. Nominal overlordship of the Sultan.
(6) Turkey admitted to the "European concert." Sultan to send representatives to future congresses of the powers.
(7) Powers renounced right to interfere in Turkish affairs. (Russia thus renounced the Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji.)
(8) Changes in international maritime law:
  (*a*) Great Britain abandoned claim to seize enemy goods carried in neutral ships.
  (*b*) Other powers abandoned use of privateers.

Criticism of Treaty:

(*a*) Other Christian peoples in the Turkish Empire could not look to Europe for help against oppression.
(*b*) Russia not really weakened.
(*c*) Turkish collapse only postponed. Renewed European intervention was inevitable.

17. THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY

ITALY:

Apparently well situated for the attainment of unity and independence. Good natural boundaries.
Under the rule of other powers for many centuries.

Italian nationality persisted:

(*a*) Common language and religion.
(*b*) Recollection of greatness of ancient Rome.

Effects of Napoleon's conquests:

(*a*) Swept away petty despotisms.
(*b*) Efficient government.
(*c*) Italy under only three Governments, all directed by Napoleon. Approximation to unity.

1815. VIENNA SETTLEMENT:

Restoration of old divisions. Disappointment of Italian patriots.

The Two Sicilies:

Society feudal. Government corrupt. People lazy and ignorant.

Papal States:

Included Romagna, Ancona, Umbria, and the Patrimony of St. Peter. Government corrupt, oppressive, and incompetent.

Tuscany:

Grand duchy. Under a Hapsburg prince. Ruled well.

Lucca:
Small duchy.

Parma:
Ruled by the ex-Empress Marie Louise. French system of government retained.

Modena:
Reactionary rule. Under a Hapsburg prince.

Lombardy and Venetia:
Austrian rule. Efficient, but autocratic.

Piedmont and Savoy:
Part of the kingdom of Sardinia.

N.B. Republican institutions were not restored in Genoa, Lucca, and Venice.

THE PROBLEM (TWOFOLD):

(1) To secure unity.
(2) To establish constitutional government.

DIFFICULTIES:

(1) Opposition of all state rulers.
(2) People ignorant and superstitious.
(3) Opposition of Austria. Strong. Claimed right to control the peninsula.
(4) Opposition of the Pope. Military power slight. Spiritual penalties. Catholic opinion elsewhere.

REPRESSION:

(1) Newspapers censored (but newspapers had little influence, as people were illiterate).
(2) Public meetings suppressed.

STAGES IN THE MOVEMENT:

(1) *The Carbonari:*
Secret society in kingdom of Naples. Spread throughout Italy. All classes of people included. Not well organised, but kept the revolutionary spirit alive.

(2) *Naples and Piedmont:*
1820. Risings. Lack of support and of sound leadership. Movements crushed by Austria. More thorough preparation needed.

(3) *Central Italy:*
1831. Rulers of Parma and Modena expelled. Rising in Papal States. Suppressed by Austria. The failure of these efforts proved that merely local risings were useless.

(4) *Literary men:*
Mazzini. Inspired the movement for Italian unity and independence. Founded the society of Young Italy, which aimed at expelling the Austrians from Italy and establishing an Italian republic.

Gioberti. *The Moral and Civil Primacy of the Italians.* Advocated the expulsion of the Austrians and the establishment of a federation of Italian states under the Pope. (But the Papal states were badly governed.)

Other writers. Advocated the annexation of other states by Piedmont.

1846. (5) *Pius IX:*

At first inclined towards Liberalism. Released political prisoners. Permitted establishment of a civil guard in Rome.

1847. His example followed in other states. In Piedmont, press
1848. censorship abolished. Constitutions granted in Piedmont
and Naples.

Pope withdrew concessions. Retired to Gaeta. Republics in Rome and Tuscany.

Republics overthrown. Pope restored by the French, who left a garrison in Rome.

The movements of 1848 were local, and were inspired by hatred of foreign rule. Not directed towards Italian unity.

1848. (6) *Lombardo-Venetian rising:*

Tobacco riots in Milan. Order restored.

Venetia, under Manin, proclaimed itself a republic.

Lombardy invaded by Piedmontese, who received assistance from Liberals in Tuscany, Papal States, and Naples. Radetzky, the Austrian governor, abandoned Milan and retired to the Quadrilateral. Waited for dissensions to develop among the Italians. Troops from central and southern Italy soon withdrawn.

1848. Radetzky defeated Charles Albert at Custozza. Austrians recovered Lombardy. Armistice.

1849. Renewed fighting between Austria and Piedmont. Battle of Novara; Austrians defeated Charles Albert, who abdicated. Piedmontese constitution remained.

(7) *Cavour:*

Prime Minister in Piedmont. Vigorous action. Public works. Agriculture. Industry. Railways. Suppression of monasteries. Commercial treaties. Increase of wealth. Increased army.

1854–6. Participation in Crimean War. Cavour at Congress of Paris. Napoleon interested in Italian Question.

(8) *Napoleon III:*

Reasons for interest in Italian Question:

(*a*) Formerly member of Carbonari.
(*b*) Sympathy with the principle of nationality.
(*c*) Desired to repeat Napoleon I's achievements in Lombardy and to destroy the system established at Vienna in 1815.
(*d*) Successful foreign policy would strengthen his own position in France.
1858. (*e*) Orsini plot.

1858. Agreement of Cavour and Napoleon III at Plombières:

(1) France to aid Piedmont in war with Austria, if Austria could be made to appear the aggressor.

(2) Austrians to be expelled from Italy.
(3) Lombardy, Venetia, Parma, Modena, and part of Papal States to be added to Piedmont in order to form a kingdom of Northern Italy.
(4) Tuscany and part of Papal States to form a kingdom of Central Italy.
(5) Rome to be under the Pope, who was to be President of an Italian Confederation of four kingdoms—Rome, Northern Italy, Central Italy, and Naples.
(6) Napoleon to receive Savoy and Nice.

N.B. (i) Cavour would regard the kingdom of Northern Italy as only a step towards complete Italian unity.
(ii) Napoleon really wanted to establish French instead of Austrian influence in Italy.

1859. War. Cavour massed troops on frontier of Lombardy. Austria demanded that Piedmont should disarm. War declared. Other nations regarded Piedmont as fighting on the defensive. French assistance given to Piedmont.

Battles of Magenta and Solferino. Austrians defeated and driven from Lombardy. Rulers of central duchies fled.

Napoleon made peace, although Austrians were not yet driven from Venetia.
(*a*) Alarmed by popular risings throughout Italy.
(*b*) Feared establishment of a kingdom of Italy instead of a confederation under the Pope.
(*c*) French intervention in Italy was destroying instead of increasing papal power.
(*d*) Alienation of Catholic opinion in France.
(*e*) Weakening of his own position as Emperor.
(*f*) Horrified at bloodshed at Solferino.
(*g*) Feared Austrian resistance in the Quadrilateral.

1859. Armistice of Villafranca. Followed by Treaty of Zurich:
(1) Lombardy to be ceded to Piedmont.
(2) Venetia to remain Austrian.
(3) Rulers of central Italian duchies to be restored.

Victor Emmanuel did not continue the war. Cavour resigned, but soon returned to office. Napoleon did not insist on cession of Savoy and Nice.

Central duchies (Modena, Parma, Tuscany, Romagna) refused to receive rulers back. Revolutionary Assemblies demanded union with Piedmont. Great Britain suggested that duchies should decide for themselves. Napoleon agreed to their union with Piedmont if Savoy and Nice were ceded to France. 1860.

Plebiscites. Duchies annexed to Piedmont. Savoy and Nice to France.

(9) *Garibaldi:*

Revolt in Sicily against Francis II. Garibaldi, with "The Thousand," invaded Sicily to assist rebels. Conquered island (except citadel of Messina). Sicily under Victor Emmanuel.

Garibaldi crossed to mainland. Neapolitan troops fled or deserted to Garibaldi, who entered Naples. Francis fled to Gaeta.

Garibaldi contemplated attack on Rome. To forestall him Victor Emmanuel invaded Papal States. Defeated Papal troops at Castelfidardo. Papal States, except the Patrimony of St. Peter, joined to Piedmont. Victor Emmanuel joined Garibaldi at Naples. Francis II held out at Gaeta, which fell to the Piedmontese in February, 1861.

All Italy united, except Venetia and Rome (with the Patrimony).

1861 (Mar.). Victor Emmanuel proclaimed King of Italy.

(10) *Venetia:*

1866. Italy allied with Prussia against Austria. Italians were defeated in the fighting but received Venetia at the peace.

(11) *Rome:*

1870. After the French defeat at Gravelotte, French garrison withdrawn. Victor Emmanuel entered Rome, which became capital of Italy. Pius IX withdrew into the Vatican. Italian unity complete (except for "Italia Irredenta").

18. THE SECOND REPUBLIC AND THE SECOND EMPIRE IN FRANCE

1848–52. THE SECOND REPUBLIC:

Provisional Government:

Republicans. Concerned only with abolition of monarchy and establishment of republic.

Socialists. Led by Louis Blanc. Aimed at reconstruction of society in the interests of working classes. Blanc advocated establishment of co-operative workshops, to be managed by workmen. State to provide capital.

Friction between the two groups. Government opened national workshops. Work unsuitable and rough. Scheme unpopular. Differed from that of Louis Blanc, but Socialists were blamed for its failure.

1848 *National Constituent Assembly:*

(May). Majority of moderate Republicans. Decided to close national workshops.

(June). Revolt in Paris. Fighting. Much loss of life.

Constitution:

(*a*) President to be elected by universal suffrage, for four years. Disqualified for immediate re-election.

(*b*) Legislative Assembly. One Chamber. Elected by universal suffrage.

1848. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte elected President.

1849. Legislative Assembly elected. Majority of Monarchists.

Presidency of Louis Napoleon:

(*a*) Continued to cultivate the Napoleonic legend.
(*b*) Socialists and Republicans repressed. Some imprisoned.
(*c*) Revision of electoral law.
(*d*) Demanded of Assembly that constitution should be revised and his term of office extended. Assembly refused. Louis Napoleon prepared for *coup d'état.*

1851 *Coup d'état:*

(2 Dec.). Arrest of many of Louis Napoleon's opponents in Paris. Assembly dismissed. Arrests in provinces. People invited to empower Louis Napoleon to remodel constitution.

1852 (2 Dec.). Louis Napoleon proclaimed Emperor as Napoleon III.

1852–70. THE SECOND EMPIRE:

Napoleon III's conception of Empire:

That Napoleon I intended to establish firm government in France. Despotic power necessary. Liberty to be restored afterwards. Opposition of other powers had involved him in ceaseless warfare. His work left unfinished.

Napoleon III proposed to complete work of Napoleon I. Necessary for France to surrender liberty for a time in order to secure stability of government. Liberty might then be restored.

Constitution:

All real power in hands of Emperor.
Legislative Assembly. Elected by universal suffrage. Met for three months in year. No real power. Meetings secret. Could not propose legislation.
Council of State. Appointed by Emperor. To propose legislation.
Senate. Consisted mainly of high officials of state. To guard and interpret constitution.
Ministers. Appointed by and responsible to Emperor.
Public meetings might be forbidden.
Censorship of press.

Material prosperity:

Banking system extended. Credit for agricultural and industrial undertakings.
Communications improved. Railways, canals, steamship lines, and telegraphs.
Condition of poor improved. Hospitals, asylums, almshouses, housing.
Paris. Rebuilding of streets and boulevards. International
1855. Exhibition.
Commercial policy. Emperor believed in Free Trade.
1860 Reduced tariffs. Commercial treaty with Great Britain.

Foreign policy:

Irresolute. Not well thought out.

Wars of conquest would arouse antagonism of Europe. Yet it was necessary to satisfy French desire for glory.

Napoleon was incapable of making the French army the most efficient in Europe. Inferior in diplomacy also.

1854–6. *Crimean War:*

France successful. Napoleon gained prestige.

1859. *Italy:*

Napoleon willing to intervene (reasons already stated elsewhere).

By demanding Savoy and Nice he forfeited all claim to Italian gratitude.

After defeating Austrians he realised that his policy would be opposed by the Pope and that it would alienate Catholic opinion in France.

By making a premature peace he aroused Italian resentment. His reputation for astuteness was impaired.

1861–6. *Mexico:*

Mexican Government repudiated interest on loans.

Napoleon intervened. Intended to overthrow republic and establish monarchy. Hoped to conciliate Catholic party in France, as Mexican republic was opposed to the Church. Panama Canal scheme.

Fighting between French and Mexicans (under Juarez).

1864. Mexican crown offered to Archduke Maximilian, brother of Francis Joseph, Austrian Emperor. Napoleon promised to support him.

Continued fighting. United States threatened to intervene. Napoleon withdrew.

1867. Maximilian captured and shot.

Napoleon's reputation suffered:

(*a*) He had wasted men and money.
(*b*) He had yielded to republican threats.
(*c*) He had been unable to intervene effectively in Danish and Austrian affairs.

Home policy:

Napoleon hoped to obtain Liberal support.

1860–70. "The Liberal Empire."

(*a*) Fuller powers given to Legislative Assembly. Its proceedings might be made public.
(*b*) Press censorship relaxed.
(*c*) Public meetings permitted.

Effect of these changes was to stimulate demand for further concessions.

1870. New constitution. Legislative Assembly to have real power. Ministers responsible to it. Accepted by nation after plebiscite.

Napoleon and Germany:

Napoleon hoped to gain Rhine boundary.
Demanded of Bismarck:
Either (*a*) Belgium,
or (*b*) Luxemburg,
or (*c*) The Palatinate.
Bismarck revealed demand for Belgium to Great Britain.
Bismarck revealed demand for the Palatinate to Bavaria.
Napoleon was thus isolated. Supported by neither Great Britain nor the South German States.
1870–1. Franco-Prussian War.
1870. Fall of Napoleon and collapse of Second French Empire.

19. GERMAN UNITY

LESSONS OF THE FAILURE OF THE MOVEMENT OF 1848–9:

(1) That Austria would always oppose a movement for German unity, since her position would be impossible in relation to a united Germany.
(2) That unity could not be achieved by constitutional means. Democrats were not always practical men. They talked too much about abstract principles.
(3) That it was essential to build up an overpowering force which would expel Austria from the Confederation and would crush the opposition of lesser states.
(4) That only Prussia could build up such a force.

PRUSSIA:

Not free under her constitution. King nearly absolute. His opponents imprisoned. Press censored. Assembly controlled by Government.
Material progress. Towns developed. Population increased. Factories. Machine production. Railways. Industrial Revolution.

WILLIAM I:

1857. Regent for Frederick William IV.
1861. King.
A soldier. Increased Prussian army, which was organised by Von Roon. 39 new infantry regiments; 10 new cavalry regiments. Effective strength of army doubled.
1861. Opposition of the Landtag. Additional cost voted for one year.
1862. Vote refused.

King might:
(*a*) Abandon reforms.
(*b*) Abolish constitution and dismiss the Landtag.
(*c*) Abdicate.

BISMARCK:

1849. Opponent of democracy and of the constitution. Approved of action of Frederick William IV in rejecting offer of Imperial crown. Desired expulsion of Austria from Confederation. Approved of William I's views on army reform.

1862. Became chief minister. Disregarded the Landtag. Taxes levied year by year without assent of Landtag.

BISMARCK'S POLICY:

To use Prussian army to achieve German unity, not by absorption of Prussia in Germany but by Prussianising Germany.

Three wars necessary:

1864. Danish.
1866. Austrian.
1870–1. French.

1864. DANISH WAR:

Undertaken because:

(1) It might give rise afterwards to quarrel with Austria.
(2) It was useful to the Prussian army as a trial war.

Matters in dispute:

(*a*) Schleswig and Holstein under the King of Denmark. Not part of Denmark. Holstein in German Confederation; German population. Schleswig not in Confederation; population mainly German, but with considerable minority of Danes. Danish policy was to incorporate the duchies in Denmark. Supported by the Danes of Schleswig. Opposed by Germans in both provinces, who wanted Schleswig as well as Holstein to be in German Confederation.

(*b*) Succession Question. Duchies claimed by Duke of Augustenburg, who after a time renounced his claim.

1852. Treaty of London; rights of King of Denmark recognised, provided that duchies were not incorporated in Denmark and that they were given independent Assemblies.

1863. (*c*) New constitution proclaimed. Schleswig annexed to Denmark. Holstein granted self-government.

(*d*) New Duke of Augustenburg declined to be bound by his father's renunciation and claimed the duchies.

War:

German Diet supported Duke of Augustenburg and sent an army into Holstein.

Bismarck refused to support Diet. Upheld Treaty of London. Invited Austria to co-operate.

1864 (Feb.). Bismarck demanded withdrawal of new constitution within forty-eight hours. Impossible. War declared. Easy victory for Prussians and Austrians.

Treaty of Vienna:

Denmark lost the duchies.

1866. AUSTRIAN WAR:

Arising out of the Schleswig-Holstein Question:

Austria suggested giving the duchies to Duke of Augustenburg. Bismarck proposed terms which the duke declined.

1865. Convention of Gastein; Austria and Prussia to be jointly responsible for maintenance of order in the duchies. In practice, Prussia to rule Schleswig and Austria Holstein.

Bismarck's preparations for war with Austria:

1863 (*a*) Secured neutrality of Russia by his action at the time of the Polish revolt.

(*b*) Secured neutrality of France by his interview with Napoleon at Biarritz. No clear agreement. Napoleon understood that he would receive either Belgium or some Rhenish territories.

(*c*) Alliance with Italy. Venetia promised to Italy at the peace.

Pretext for war:

Bismarck complained of agitation carried on in Holstein on behalf of the Duke of Augustenburg. Austria replied that she alone was responsible for Holstein.

1866 (June) Austria brought question of Schleswig and Holstein before the Diet. Bismarck denounced this as a violation of the Convention of Gastein. Prussia assumed full responsibility for both duchies and sent troops into Holstein.

Austria proposed in the Diet that the forces of the Confederation should be used against Prussia. Prussia announced that every vote for the proposal would be treated as a declaration of war.

1866 (14 June). Proposal carried. Prussia declared the Confederation dissolved.

War:

(16 June). War began. Most states supported Austria.

Prussians immediately invaded Hanover, Saxony, and Hesse-Cassel. By the end of June Prussia was supreme in North Germany.

Prussians invaded Bohemia. Defended by Benedek, who hoped to defeat Prince Frederick Charles, with the army from Saxony, before he could be joined by the Crown Prince with the army from Silesia.

Frederick Charles drove Austrians back to Koniggrätz.

3 July). Battle of Sadowa (or Königgrätz). Austrian artillery powerful, but Prussian infantry armed with breech-loading rifle. Arrival of Crown Prince decided battle.

Italian army defeated at Custozza and navy at Lissa. But by their action Italians detained large Austrian army in Italy and thus contributed to Prussian victory at Sadowa.

Remaining enemies (Bavaria, Baden, Wurtemberg) easily beaten.

Causes of Prussian victory:

(1) Superiority of Prussian army, organised by Von Roon and led by Von Moltke.
(2) Austrian difficulties with subject peoples. Source of serious weakness.
(3) Bismarck's policy in isolating Austria.

1866 (Aug.). *Treaty of Prague:*

(1) German Confederation ceased to exist.
(2) North German Confederation established, under Prussian leadership. Austria not included.
(3) South German states left to themselves.
(4) Prussia claimed no territory from Austria, and only a small indemnity.
(5) Italy received Venetia.

N.B. (*a*) Prussia annexed Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, and Schleswig-Holstein, and attained territorial unity.
(*b*) Bismarck criticised on account of moderation of terms. But he had attained his object. If he had tried to impose severe terms on Austria, other states might have intervened. Intervention of Napoleon III especially to be feared. Bismarck realised that war with France was inevitable.
(*c*) Bismarck hoped, by granting moderate terms to Austria, for her neutrality in the forthcoming war with France.
(*d*) Personal triumph for Bismarck. Prussian Landtag passed Act of Indemnity with regard to the levying of illegal taxation. 1867.

1870–1. FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR:

Prussian preparations:

(*a*) Increase of forces. Armies of North German Confederation organised on Prussian model.
(*b*) Neutrality of Great Britain secured by revelation of Napoleon's demand for Belgium.
(*c*) Support of Bavaria and other South German states secured by revelation of Napoleon's demand for Palatinate.
(*d*) Neutrality of Russia secured by the suggestion that she would be able to denounce Black Sea clause of the Treaty of Paris.
(*e*) Neutrality of Italy secured by Italian resentment at presence of French garrison in Rome.
(*f*) Neutrality of Austria secured by fear of attack from Russia.

Pretext for war:

Spanish Succession Question. Spanish crown offered to Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, relative of King of Prussia. Refused, then accepted.
French demanded withdrawal of acceptance. Leopold agreed.
French demanded that the candidature of Leopold for the Spanish Crown should never be revived. William I refused.

Report of the interview between William I and French ambassador was published by Bismarck in such a form as to suggest
To the French:
That the King had insulted the ambassador.
To the Germans:
That the ambassador had insulted the King.

Excitement in Paris. Led to war.

War:

Germany prepared. France unprepared.
Three German armies invaded France.
Crown Prince defeated MacMahon at Worth. French retreated to Châlons.
Frederick Charles defeated Bazaine, who retreated into Metz. Besieged.
Napoleon joined MacMahon, and marched to relief of Metz.
1870 (1 Sept.). Napoleon surrounded at Sedan. Battle of Sedan; Napoleon defeated. Surrendered with 100,000 men.
Fall of the Empire, and establishment of the Third Republic. Provisional Government of National Defence.
Siege of Paris. Four months. Surrender of Bazaine at Metz with 180,000 men. Released further German forces for siege of Paris. Gambetta escaped from Paris to raise fresh forces, but failed to relieve the city. Sufferings from cold, famine, and bombardment.

1871 (28 Jan.). Paris surrendered.
Armistice.

(May). *Treaty of Frankfort:*

(*a*) France to cede to Germany Alsace (except Belfort) and eastern Lorraine (including Metz).
(*b*) France to pay to Germany a war indemnity of £200,000,000.
(*c*) France to support a German army of occupation until the war indemnity was paid.

GERMAN UNIFICATION:

1871. German Empire proclaimed at Versailles, with King of Prussia as German Emperor. Included North German Confederation together with the South German states.

20. THE INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE

CONSTITUTION:

(1) Confederation of twenty-five states, of which Prussia was the largest.
(2) King of Prussia was German Emperor.
(3) State rulers retained authority in the internal affairs of their states.

(4) Imperial Legislature:

(*a*) Bundesrath. Successor to Diet of German Confederation. More important than Reichstag. Consisted of delegates appointed by state rulers. Prussia usually able to control Bundesrath. Prussia empowered to veto any proposal with regard to the army or navy or with regard to amendment of the constitution.

(*b*) Reichstag. Elected by people. Limited powers. Consent necessary for new taxes but not for continuance of existing taxation.

Assent of both Chambers required for new laws.

(5) Ministers appointed by Emperor. Not responsible to Reichstag.

(6) Imperial Chancellor controlled policy. Other ministers were subordinate to him.

(7) Emperor could declare war, make treaties, and command forces. Allegiance of troops due to Emperor and not to state rulers.

GOVERNMENT OF THE EMPIRE:

During its whole existence the German Empire was really governed by only two men:

1871–90. Bismarck, Imperial Chancellor.
1888–1918. William II, Emperor.

NON-GERMANS IN THE EMPIRE:

Poles in the east.
Danes in Schleswig.
French in Alsace and Lorraine.
Too few and too much scattered to be a source of serious difficulty.

THE CHURCH AND THE EMPIRE:

The Roman Catholic Church:

Viewed establishment of Empire with disfavour. Protestant leadership in Empire. Catholic propaganda. Catholic political party, the Centre, in Reichstag. Acted in interests of Church rather than of Empire.

Old Catholics:

Roman Catholics required by Pope to accept doctrine of Papal Infallibility. Some professors and students in German universities refused. Formed distinct group known as Old Catholics.

Excommunicated.
Expelled from posts under Roman Catholic control.
Roman Catholic students forbidden to attend lectures of Old Catholic professors.
Roman Catholics forbidden to attend services conducted by Old Catholic priests.

Old Catholics looked to German Government for protection.

Kulturkampf:

Struggle between German Empire and Roman Catholic Church.

(*a*) Members of religious orders forbidden to teach.
(*b*) Jesuits to leave the country.
(*c*) German envoy left Vatican.
(*d*) Schools under lay inspection.
(*e*) Civil marriage established.
1873–4–5. (*f*) May Laws (in Prussia):

(i) Public excommunication by Roman Catholic priests forbidden.
(ii) Candidates for the priesthood ordered to study for three years at a state university, and to pass an examination in general knowledge.
(iii) Appointments of Roman Catholic clergy subject to state control.
(iv) Roman Catholic colleges to be open to state inspection.
(v) Religious orders dissolved.

Pope declared the May Laws invalid. Roman Catholic priests defied the law and were punished. Represented themselves as victims of persecution. Gained some popular support.

End of struggle:

(*a*) Bismarck, alarmed at growth of Socialism, desired support of Centre in fighting it.
1878. (*b*) New Pope, Leo XIII, conciliatory.

1879. German envoy received again at Vatican. May Laws dropped. Religious orders, except Jesuits, permitted to return.
Laws relating to civil marriage and to state inspection of schools remained.

SOCIALISTS:

Party founded by Marx and Lassalle. Aimed at reorganisation of society. Opposed German militarism and Imperialism.

Bismarck opposed Socialism by:

(*a*) Repression.
(*b*) State Socialism.

Repression:

1878–90. Laws forbidding meetings, societies, or publications for propaganda.
Powers of enforcement conferred on police.

State Socialism:

1883. Insurance against sickness.
1884. Insurance against accident.
1889. Old age pensions.

Growth of Socialist party. Abandonment of policy of repression
1890. after fall of Bismarck.

ECONOMIC PROGRESS:

Industry:

Flourished, with state assistance.
  Steel. Iron ores of Lorraine. Coal of the Ruhr. Gilchrist-Thomas process.
  Textiles.
  Railways.
  Banking system.
  Technical education.

Commerce:

High protection after 1879:
  (*a*) To promote prosperity.
  (*b*) To provide larger Imperial revenue.

Colonies:

Germany was late in the race for colonies.
  Some acquisitions after 1884.
  Togoland and Kamerun.
  Damaraland and Namaqualand.
  German East Africa.

Marine:

Increase in German mercantile marine.

WILLIAM II:

Disagreed with Bismarck, who retired in 1890. Emperor believed in Divine Right. Aimed at making Germany dominant in the world. Chancellors strictly subordinate to Emperor.

1890–4. *Caprivi:*

Abandonment of anti-Socialist legislation. Party now organised openly. Annual congresses. Increased representation in Reichstag.
Commercial treaties with neighbouring countries.

1894–1900. *Hohenlohe:*

Development of German naval power.
1890. Heligoland acquired.
1895. Kiel Canal completed.
1897. Programme of naval construction.
1900. Larger programme.
Navy League formed.

1900–9. *Bulow:*

Increased opposition in Reichstag.
1908. *Daily Telegraph* interview with Emperor. Constitutional crisis.

1909–17. *Bethmann-Hollweg:*

Growing tension in foreign affairs.
Constitutional questions raised, but not settled.
1914. Outbreak of war.

21. THE THIRD FRENCH REPUBLIC

1870. FOUNDATION OF THIRD FRENCH REPUBLIC:

Proclaimed by Gambetta. Provisional Government established.

1871. National Assembly elected after armistice with Germany. Met at Bordeaux. Assented to Treaty of Frankfort.

Assembly contained majority of Monarchists, because the peasantry

(*a*) Feared for the security of property under a republic.
(*b*) Wanted peace, and the Republican party wanted to continue the war.

Assembly elected Thiers as head of the state. Did not attempt to restore monarchy at once, since it preferred the discredit of giving up French territory to rest on the Republicans.

1871. THE COMMUNE:

Antagonism between Government (at Versailles) and the people of Paris.

Fighting in Paris between National Guard and Government troops. Troops withdrawn from Paris.

Paris elected General Council (the "Commune") which controlled the city for some months. Aimed at weakening central Government by making communes throughout the country almost independent. Accused Thiers and National Assembly of plotting to overthrow the republic. Government determined to suppress Commune.

Second siege of Paris. Two months. City captured by Government troops. Street fighting. Heavy loss of life.

1871–3. THIERS:

(1) Indemnity paid off in two and a half years.
(2) German army of occupation withdrawn.
(3) Reorganisation of French army. Strict conscription law.
(4) Monarchists in Assembly disliked Thiers and refused to assent to his proposal to draw up a constitution for the republic. Thiers resigned. MacMahon became President.

FIRST ATTEMPT TO OVERTHROW THE REPUBLIC:

Monarchist activity. Chief difficulty in number of candidates for the throne.
Bourbon: Count of Chambord (Henry V).
Orleanist: Count of Paris.
Bonapartist: Prince Imperial.

1873. Proposal that Count of Chambord (childless) should become King, with Count of Paris as heir. Count of Chambord stipulated that tricolour should give place to the Bourbon flag with *fleurs-de-lis*. Impossible. Monarchist movement collapsed.

1875. REPUBLICAN CONSTITUTION:
Drawn up by National Assembly because of:
(a) Monarchist failure.
(b) Desire not to see Empire restored.
(1) President to be elected for seven years. Ceremonial head of state.
(2) Legislature, consisting of Senate and Chamber of Deputies.
(3) Ministers responsible to Legislature.
1876. National Assembly dissolved. Senate and Chamber of Deputies elected. Republican majority in Chamber. Slight Monarchist majority in Senate.

MACMAHON:
1873–9. President. Monarchist at heart. Not prepared to recognise responsibility of ministers to Legislature.
1877. MacMahon dismissed Republican ministry and appointed Duke of Broglie, a Monarchist, as Prime Minister. Chamber of Deputies dissolved, but new Chamber contained Republican majority.
1878. Republican majority in Senate.
1879. MacMahon resigned. Grevy, a Republican, became President. Republicans had at last secured presidency and control of both Chambers.

1879–87. GRÉVY:
(1) Press finally freed from restrictions.
(2) Public meetings permitted without authorisation.
(3) System of education organised. Priests excluded from public schools. No religious instruction in public schools. Private schools might be maintained by priests and by authorised religious orders.
(4) Colonial acquisitions: Tunis.
Annam and Tonkin.
Territories in West Africa.
1884. (5) Constitution revised:
(a) Republican form of government never to be subject to revision.
(b) Presidency never to be open to any member of a family which had formerly reigned in France.
1886. (6) Expulsion from France of members of former reigning families.

SECOND ATTEMPT TO OVERTHROW THE REPUBLIC:
Divisions amongst Republicans. Frequent changes of ministry. Republic for a time unpopular.
General Boulanger, Minister of War, popular. Announced that constitution needed revision. Elected to Chamber of Deputies. Expected to seize autocratic power.
Republicans charged Boulanger with conspiring against safety of state. Fled. Suicide in Brussels.

PANAMA SCANDALS:
French company formed to construct Panama Canal. De Lesseps, engineer.

1889. Company bankrupt.

Charges of bribery and corruption brought against directors of company. Ministers and deputies involved. Government weakened.

THIRD ATTEMPT TO OVERTHROW THE REPUBLIC:

The Dreyfus Case:

1894. Dreyfus charged with communicating military secrets to foreign power. Evidence of guilt based on the *bordereau*. Dreyfus found guilty by court-martial. Degraded. Sentenced to imprisonment for life on Devil's Island.

1896. Colonel Picquart asserted innocence of Dreyfus. Contended that the *bordereau* was forged by Esterhazy.

Public controversy.

Anti-Dreyfusards included Monarchists, Clericals, anti-Semites, military caste.

Dreyfusards included opponents of military caste, anti-Clericals, Republicans, literary men.

1898. Court-martial on Esterhazy for forgery of *bordereau*. Acquitted.

1898. Zola, in *J'accuse*, brought charges against the judges of both courts-martial. Fled to England.

1898. Government produced three documents as additional evidence of guilt of Dreyfus. Picquart contended that two were irrelevant to the case and the third a forgery. Colonel Henry shortly afterwards admitted the forgery and committed suicide.

1899. Esterhazy fled to England. Confessed to forgery of the *bordereau*.

1899. Court of Cassation annulled verdict of court-martial on Dreyfus and ordered new trial. Dreyfus again found guilty and sentenced to imprisonment for ten years. Pardoned. Continued to press for vindication.

1906. Court of Cassation reviewed case again. Annulled verdict of second court-martial. Declared Dreyfus innocent. Pronounced Esterhazy guilty of the forgery of the *bordereau*.

Dreyfus restored to army, promoted, and awarded Legion of Honour.

Case resulted in the rallying of Republican and Socialist groups in defence of the republic, and the assertion that the army was subordinate to the Government.

CONTEST WITH THE CHURCH:

Causes:

(1) Activity of the Clerical party in the Dreyfus case.
(2) Growth of atheism in France.

Monastic Orders:

By French law all associations of more than twenty persons were illegal unless they had received sanction of Government. Hitherto not rigidly enforced. Many religious associations without sanction. Active in teaching. Regarded by the

"Bloc" (Republicans and Socialists) as opposed to the Republic.

1901. Law of Associations. Proposed by Waldeck-Rousseau, Prime Minister.

(1) Legalised associations other than religious.
(2) Required religious associations to seek approval and to submit rules.
(3) Forbade teaching in schools by members of unauthorised orders.

Many unauthorised religious associations suppressed. Property confiscated. Law enforced rigorously by Combes.

1904. Law that teaching by members of authorised orders should cease in ten years.

Pius X:

Unfriendly to French republic:

(*a*) Differences with regard to appointment and institution of bishops under the Concordat.
(*b*) Pope protested against visit of President Loubet to the King of Italy.
(*c*) Withdrawal of representatives from Paris and the Vatican.

Separation of Church and State:

1905. Law of Separation:

(*a*) French republic ceased to recognise any religious organisation.
(*b*) Concordat ended.
(*c*) State ceased to pay salaries of priests. (But pensions were given to older priests and compensation payments to the younger.)
(*d*) Churches and cathedrals to be property of state.
(*e*) *Associations cultuelles* to be formed and to be permitted to use the buildings.
(*f*) Law applicable to all religious bodies.

Protestant sects and Jews complied with the law, formed *associations cultuelles*, and were little worse off.

Many Roman Catholics were willing to form *associations cultuelles*, but Pope forbade it.

1907. Modification of law. Priests permitted to negotiate for use of buildings.

Priests now supported by congregations. Many French became atheists or freethinkers. Some increase in influence of Church in recent years.

SOCIALISTS:

Active. Numerically increasing. Co-operated with Republicans in attack upon the Church.

Clemenceau, Prime Minister, included Socialists as well as Republicans in his Cabinet. Opposed by extreme Socialists because of his firmness in opposing strikes.

Briand, Socialist Prime Minister, was also opposed by extreme Socialists.

Socialists were ineffective in politics because of their divisions.

1905. Secured reduction of term of military service to two years.

1913. Failed to prevent extension of term to three years.

1914. Party divisions dropped. Unity for national defence.

22. THE EASTERN QUESTION—FROM THE TREATY OF PARIS, 1856, TO THE OUTBREAK OF THE EUROPEAN WAR

ROUMANIA:

1858. Powers refused to sanction union of Moldavia and Wallachia. They adopted similar constitutions and elected the same prince.

1862. Assemblies combined. Union achieved under the name of Roumania.

1866. Charles of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen became Prince of Roumania.

1871. DENUNCIATION OF THE TREATY OF PARIS:

After the French defeat in the Franco-Prussian War Russia began building a Black Sea fleet. Great Britain acquiesced.

BULGARIAN QUESTION:

1875. Risings in Herzegovina and Bosnia.

Andrassy note accepted by the Sultan. Demanded reforms, but included no effective guarantee. Rebels refused to submit upon the Sultan's mere promise to carry out reforms.

Berlin Memorandum. Proposed guarantees. Supported by the three Empires and France and Italy, but not by Great Britain. Sultan refused assent.

1876. Rising in Bulgaria. Outrages committed by Bashi-Bazouks and by regular troops. Massacres. European indignation. Disraeli reluctant to intervene. Gladstone stirred up British public opinion.

Sultan Abdul Aziz deposed. Murad V succeeded, and was deposed. Abdul Hamid succeeded.

Serbia and Montenegro made war upon Turkey. Assisted by Russian volunteers. Defeated.

1877. Russia prepared to act, alone or in conjunction with other powers. Conference at Constantinople proposed reforms. Rejected by Sultan. Russia declared war upon Turkey. Siege and defence of Plevna, followed by its fall. Russians reached Adrianople and threatened Constantinople.

1878. *Treaty of San Stefano:*

(1) Full sovereignty of Serbia, Montenegro, and Roumania.
(2) Roumania to cede Bessarabia to Russia and to receive Dobrudja.
(3) New state, Bulgaria, under nominal Turkish suzerainty, extending from the Danube to the Ægean.

Treaty unacceptable to the powers. Revision demanded. Congress at Berlin, under presidency of Bismarck. Main points settled by negotiation before Congress started.

1878. *Treaty of Berlin:*

(1) Bulgaria reduced in size. Nominal Turkish overlordship.

(a) The part south of the Balkans (Eastern Roumelia) to remain within the Turkish Empire under a Christian governor.
(b) Province of Macedonia to remain under direct Turkish rule.
(2) Serbia, Montenegro, and Roumania to be entirely independent.
(3) Montenegro and Serbia to receive additions of territory.
(4) Roumania to cede Bessarabia to Russia and to receive Dobrudja.
(5) Bosnia and Herzegovina to pass under Austrian rule. Not formally annexed.
(6) Great Britain to receive Cyprus.

N.B. (a) Not a satisfactory settlement. European Turkey reduced in size. Some millions of people removed from Turkish rule. Nothing done for Macedonia.
1885. (b) Eastern Roumelia joined Bulgaria.
(c) Russian designs in the Balkans checked. Russian efforts at expansion directed elsewhere—eastwards, to Manchuria, and south-eastwards, to Persia and Afghanistan.

THE BALKANS IN THE EIGHTIES:

1881. Turkey yielded Thessaly to Greece.
1881. Prince of Roumania assumed title of King, as Carol I.
1885. Serbia attacked Bulgaria. Beaten. Bulgaria gained no territory.

1894–6. ARMENIAN QUESTION:

Turkish outrages on the Armenians. No European intervention. Russia unwilling to act, and Great Britain unwilling to act alone.

1896–7. CRETAN QUESTION:

1896. Cretan revolt. Greek help. Greeks hoped to annex Crete. Powers intervened. Sultan granted Cretan independence, but Greeks would not withdraw. Crete blockaded by British and other fleets.
1897. War between Greece and Turkey. Turkish victory. Greeks withdrew from Crete.

1908. REVOLUTION IN TURKEY:

Young Turk party, supported by army, demanded and obtained a constitution. Parliament summoned.

Possible activity of a regenerated Turkey. To forestall this, Austria annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Bulgaria renounced Turkish overlordship. These proceedings were contrary to Treaty of Berlin. Possibility of European war.

Serbs had hoped for union with Bosnia and Herzegovina. Protested against Austrian annexation. Russian encouragement of Serbia. Germany threatened to support Austria. Russia withdrew.

1909. Counter-revolution attempted in Turkey. Failed. Abdul Hamid deposed. Mohammed V became Sultan.

1911. ITALIAN WAR:

Italy conquered Tripoli from the Turks.

BALKAN LEAGUE:

1912. Balkan states formed league against Turkey. They hoped to conquer and partition Macedonia.

First Balkan War:

Between Turkey and the League.
Bulgarians defeated Turks at Lulé Burgas. Besieged Adrianople and threatened Constantinople.
Greeks and Serbs overran Macedonia.
Armistice.
Fighting renewed. Bulgarians captured Adrianople. Greeks captured Janina. Montenegrins captured Scutari.

1913 (May). *Treaty of London:*

Most of European Turkey yielded to the victors.
Austria and Italy would not let Montenegro retain Scutari. A new state, Albania, was formed.

Second Balkan War:

Caused by disagreement of Serbia and Bulgaria about the partition of Macedonia.
Bulgaria *v.* Serbia, Greece, and Roumania.
Bulgarians attacked Serbs, but were defeated.

(Aug.). *Treaty of Bucharest:*

Northern and Central Macedonia to Serbia.
Southern Macedonia and Salonika to Greece.
Eastern Macedonia and Thrace to Bulgaria.
Turkey recovered Adrianople from Bulgaria.

AUSTRO-SERBIAN RELATIONS:

Serbia now with enlarged territory and enhanced prestige.
Austria feared that Serbia would champion Slav peoples in the Dual Monarchy. She sought opportunity to attack Serbia.
1914. Murder of Archduke Francis Ferdinand at Sarajevo, in Bosnia. Led to European War.

23. THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE AUSTRIAN MONARCHY

SCHWARZENBERG:

1848–52. Chancellor. Recovered Austrian influence over subject peoples and over the German Confederation.
Policy of repression maintained by Bach. Old system restored, except that feudal privileges were not revived and serfdom was not restored.
1851. Constitution of 1849 abolished.

HUNGARY:

Diet abolished. Croatia and Transylvania separated from Hungary. Hungary proper was divided into five parts, all ruled from Vienna.

WEAKNESS OF EMPIRE:

Due to discontent of subject races. Evident in 1859, when Austria lost Lombardy and was unable to prevent Italian unity.

FRANCIS JOSEPH:

Resolved upon reform. Bach retired.

Conference summoned to advise Emperor on the future government of the Empire. Two parties:

(a) Federalists (Magyars). Suggested full measure of self-government to races within Empire. Central Government to deal only with matters of common importance.

(b) Centralists (Germans). All matters of importance to be dealt with by central Parliament of whole Empire. Provincial Assemblies for minor affairs.

1860. *October Diploma:*

Emperor inclined towards Federalist solution.

Provincial Diets established, with substantial powers. The five districts of Hungary abolished. Pre-1848 system restored in Hungary.

Magyars demanded revival of March Laws. Emperor disappointed. Veered to Centralist solution.

1861. *February Patent:*

Imperial Diet to be elected by provincial Diets. Powers of provincial Diets reduced.

Ministers to be responsible to Imperial Diet. Absolute government abandoned.

HUNGARIAN OPPOSITION:

(a) Led by Deák.

(b) Hungarians contended that the union of Austria and Hungary was personal only, and that the March Laws could not be abrogated without Hungarian consent. Demanded recognition of Hungarian constitution as amended by the March Laws.

(c) Hungarian Diet refused to send members to Imperial Diet.

(d) Dispute conducted with moderation. Discussions between Emperor and Deák. Agreement reached. 1866–7.

1867. AUSGLEICH:

(1) The Empire (Austria-Hungary) to consist of two states, Austria and Hungary, of equal status.
In Austria, Francis Joseph to be Emperor.
In Hungary, Francis Joseph to be King.

(2) Diet, with ministers responsible to it, in each country. Neither to interfere with the other.

(3) Common ministries for Foreign Affairs, War, and Finance.
(4) System of delegations established.
  (a) Each Diet to appoint a delegation of sixty members to co-operate with the delegation from the other state.
  (b) Delegations to meet alternately at Vienna and Budapesth.
  (c) The common ministries to be responsible to these delegations.
  (d) Delegations to meet separately, except in cases of serious disagreement.

N.B. (a) Equality of Hungary with Austria definitely recognised, but necessity of co-operation admitted.
  (b) *Ausgleich* differed from both Federalist and Centralist solutions, hitherto proposed.
  (c) Austria-Hungary known henceforth as the Dual Monarchy.
  (d) Francis Joseph visited Budapesth and was crowned King of Hungary.
  (e) Settlement satisfactory to Germans in Austria and to Magyars in Hungary, but not to other races.

CZECHS:

Pressed for similar recognition. Francis Joseph inclined to agree, but both Germans and Magyars opposed Czech claims, which were not granted.

Some concessions made to Czechs:
  (a) Changes in electoral law.
  (b) Czech language recognised, with German, as an official language in Bohemia.

CROATS:

Concessions to Croats:
1868. (a) Self-government, except in foreign affairs.
  (b) Croatian language recognised.

OTHER RACES:

Failed to secure similar concessions.
The *Ausgleich* appeared to be an alliance of Germans and Magyars to enable them to keep other races in subjection.

CONTINUANCE OF AUSGLEICH:

Renewed friction from time to time. Further concessions made to Magyars. *Ausgleich* maintained by Emperor's efforts.
1916. Death of Francis Joseph. Karl became Emperor.
1918. Karl abdicated. Collapse of the Dual Monarchy.

24. RUSSIA

RUSSIAN EMPIRE:

Great extent. Peoples of many races, religions, and languages. People mainly Slav and Orthodox, but included also Finns (Lutheran) and Poles (Roman Catholic).

Medieval and Asiatic rather than modern and European.

CLASSES OF PEOPLE:

Serfs:

Worked on lords' estates. Held their lands from lords. No rights. Ill-treatment. Burden of taxation. Ignorant and superstitious. Serfs on Imperial domain were better off than others. Agriculture was backward.

Nobles:

Privileged. Exempt from most of taxation. Commissions in army. Wealthy, through labour of serfs.

1801–25. ALEXANDER I:

Religious. Inclined to reform. Constitution granted to Poland, which for a time was as free as Great Britain.

Tsar tried to check corruption and to improve condition of serfs. Accomplished little.

Tsar afterwards veered round to views of Metternich and ruled as an absolute monarch.

1825–55. NICHOLAS I:

Decembrist revolt crushed.

Policy of repression:

(*a*) Censorship of press. Forbidden books might be neither printed nor imported.
(*b*) Secret police (the Third Section) to seek out disaffection.
(*c*) Foreign travel forbidden except under strict conditions.
(*d*) Education discouraged.
(*e*) Abolition of Polish constitution (following Polish revolt).

Two wars with Turkey on account of Turkish oppression of Balkan peoples, who were Orthodox in religion and looked to Tsar for protection.

Loss of Russian prestige in Crimean War. Unsuspected weakness of Russian army.

1855–81. ALEXANDER II:

Early reforms:

(*a*) Pardoned exiles.
(*b*) Some freedom granted to press.
(*c*) Permitted foreign travel.
(*d*) Encouraged education in universities and schools.
(*e*) Trial by jury.

Emancipation of serfs:

1861. Edict issued.

On Crown lands. Serfs freed. No longer liable to pay dues. Peasants became owners of their lands.

On private lands. Serfs freed. Each peasant given his house and garden. In each village an extent of land was transferred from the lord to the village community, to be held in common. Reallocation every few years. Lord to receive compensation for land given up. Compensation to be paid by state. Peasants to repay the money to the state by instalments extending over forty-nine years.

Results of emancipation:

(1) Improved status of peasants.

(2) Peasants not better off economically, since instalments to state were often heavier than former obligations to lords.

(3) Peasants resented having to purchase land which they regarded as already their own.

(4) With increase of rural population land had to be reallocated among more people. Poverty of people.

Local government:

District and provincial Zemstvos set up. Controlled roads, education, hospitals, etc. Did useful work. Provided training for national politics.

1863–4. *Polish revolt:*

Hopeless. Poles defeated in one battle. Further fighting irregular and ineffective. Poles hoped for foreign intervention. Revolt crushed. Poland incorporated in Russian Empire.

Revolt followed by emancipation of Polish serfs, to whom lands were assigned from estates of nobles. Compensation paid to nobles, but money raised by a general tax to which nobles as well as peasants had to contribute.

Nihilism:

Nihilists wanted to sweep away existing order of society and to establish new organisation.

(*a*) Campaign of propaganda. Resisted by secret police. Many exiles to Siberia.

1881. (*b*) Campaign of violence. Many outrages. Many officials assassinated. Tsar assassinated.

1881–94. ALEXANDER III:

Repression:

(*a*) Secret police active against Nihilists.

(*b*) Education restricted.

(*c*) Censorship of press.

(*d*) Trial by jury restricted.

(*e*) Powers of Zemstvos reduced.

(*f*) Land Captains appointed in villages. In this way nobles recovered some of their former power over peasants.

Industrial development:

Witte aimed at development of Russian natural resources:

(*a*) New industries established.
(*b*) Protective duties.
(*c*) Railways constructed.
(*d*) French capital introduced.
(*e*) Growth of labour problems (wages, hours of labour, etc.).
(*f*) Trade unions, strikes, etc. More difficult for secret police to suppress agitation in factory towns than in villages.

1894–1918. NICHOLAS II:

Social conditions:

(*a*) Increasing poverty in rural districts.
(*b*) Heavy taxation to meet cost of army and of railway construction.
(*c*) Spread of Socialism among factory workers.

Finland:

Hitherto a separate duchy, with Tsar as Grand Duke. Finnish Diet existed. Separate army and postal service.

1899. Army and postal service incorporated in those of Russia. Powers of Diet reduced.

Repression:

1902–4. Under Von Plehve, Minister of the Interior.

1905. Strike of workmen. Procession at St. Petersburg. Massacre. Renewed strikes. Assassinations. Mutinies. General disorder.

The Dumas:

Tsar changed policy and called a Duma. Limited franchise. Agitation continued. General strike. More Liberal franchise granted. Duma given power to make laws. Powers of Finnish Diet restored.

1906. First Duma. Powers restricted. Reform party demanded that ministers should be responsible to Duma. Court refused. Duma dissolved. Many democrats punished.

1907. Second Duma. Democrats again in the majority. Renewed contest with court. Dissolved.

New electoral law. Franchise restricted mainly to landowners.

1907–12. Third Duma. Mainly Conservative. Passed law (proposed by Stolypin) ending communal system of land-holding in villages, and setting up individual ownership.

1912–17. Fourth Duma. Reactionary. Yet some demands were made for reform.

1914–18. *War:*

Disasters. Growing discontent.

1917. *Revolution:*

Tsar deposed. Republics established.

1918. Tsar murdered.

25. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS BETWEEN 1871 AND 1914

THE POWERS:

Germany. From its foundation the greatest power on the continent.
France. Defeated.
Italy. Only recently unified.
Russia. Weakness exposed in Crimean War.
Austria. Weakened by recent defeats. Discontent of subject races.
Great Britain. Could not be classified with continental powers. Military strength slight. Naval power overwhelming.

BISMARCK'S POLICY:

(1) To keep France isolated. (The only danger to the German Empire was a war of revenge, and for that France would need allies.)
(2) To attach other powers to Germany as allies.

FRENCH REPUBLIC:

Bismarck did not raise objection, since Tsar and Austrian Emperor would be less likely to ally with a republic.

1872. LEAGUE OF THREE EMPERORS:

(1) To maintain *status quo* in Europe.
(2) To settle problems arising out of the Eastern Question.
(3) To oppose revolutionary movements.
Not likely to be permanent, as interests of Austria and Russia conflicted in Balkans.

1878. In the settlement of the Eastern Question at Berlin, Austria received Bosnia and Herzegovina, while Russia had no real voice in the settlement. The League of the Three Emperors was weakened.

1879. AUSTRO-GERMAN ALLIANCE:

(1) Mutual support if attacked by Russia.
(2) If either was at war with any other power than Russia, other would remain neutral unless Russia supported the enemy.

OPPOSITION OF ITALY AND FRANCE TO EACH OTHER:

(*a*) Clerical party in France wanted the republic to restore the Pope's temporal power.
1881. (*b*) France occupied Tunis, which Italy coveted.

1882. TRIPLE ALLIANCE:

Alliance of Germany, Austria, and Italy. For five years. Renewed from time to time.
Advantages to Italy:
(i) Secured Austro-German assistance for Italy if France took up arms on behalf of the Pope.
(ii) Secured Italy from Austrian attack in the north-east.
(iii) Italy recognised as a great power.

THE THREE EMPERORS:

Bismarck still hoped to keep on good terms with Russia.
1881. League of the Three Emperors renewed for three years. If any one of them should be at war with a fourth power the other two would be neutral.
1884. Renewed.
1887. Reinsurance Compact.

WILLIAM II:

1890. Refused to continue the Reinsurance Compact.

DUAL ALLIANCE:

Investment of French capital in Russia after 1888.
1891. French fleet visited Kronstadt.
1893. Russian fleet visited Toulon.
1895. Dual Alliance between France and Russia.

GREAT BRITAIN:

Differences with France:

(1) Occupation of Egypt by British.
(2) Occupation of Fashoda by French.
(3) Minor disagreements in other parts of the world.

Differences with Russia:

(1) Russian advance in Manchuria.
(2) Russian advance in Afghanistan.

Differences with Germany:

1895. (1) German Emperor's telegram to President Kruger.
1899–1902. (2) Contemplated intervention by German Emperor in the Boer War.
1897–1900. (3) German naval programmes.

1904. *Anglo-French Convention:*

Settlement of points in dispute in Egypt, Morocco, Siam, West Africa, and Newfoundland.
Followed by the Anglo-French Entente. Not an alliance. Friendly attitude of the two countries.

1907. *Anglo-Russian Convention:*

Agreement on spheres of influence in Persia. Great Britain to be dominant in Afghanistan. Both countries to abstain from action in Tibet.
Followed by Triple Entente.

COMPETITION IN ARMAMENTS:

(1) All continental powers increased their military forces.
(2) Naval rivalry of Great Britain and Germany. Great Britain built ships more quickly than Germany. New type, the Dreadnought. Heavy guns.
(3) Aircraft. Experimental work.

HAGUE CONFERENCES:

Called together by the Tsar. To consider possibility of reduction of armaments by mutual agreement.

1899. *First Conference:*

(a) Agreed that reduction of armaments was desirable.
(b) Established a Permanent Court of Arbitration to deal with international disputes. No dispute could be referred to it without consent of both sides concerned.

1907. *Second Conference:*

(a) Another resolution on the desirability of limiting armaments.
(b) Regulations for the conduct of war in more humane fashion. Of doubtful value.

CRISES IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY:

1904 *Morocco:*

Disturbed. French resolved to compel Sultan to accept scheme of reforms. German Emperor visited Tangier and asserted independence of Sultan. Demanded settlement of Moroccan Question by a European Conference.

1906. (Jan.) Conference at Algeciras. France supported by Russia, Great Britain, and United States, and even by Austria and Italy.
(a) Sovereignty of Sultan recognised.
(b) France and Spain to organise an international police in Morocco.
(c) France authorised to control Bank of Morocco.

Diplomatic victory for France. Germany had hoped to break up the Anglo-French Entente and had failed to do so.

1908. *Turkish Revolution:*

Danger of regenerated Turkey trying to recover lost territories.
Bulgaria renounced overlordship of Turkey.
Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina.
Serbia protested. Supported by Russia. Germany ready to support Austria. Russia gave way. Serbia withdrew protest. Crisis passed.

1911. *Morocco:*

French occupied Fez, to protect European residents.
German cruiser sent to Agadir. Great Britain refused to allow Germany to annex Agadir.
Germany recognised French protectorate over Morocco. Germany received part of French Congo.

Serbia:

1913. Territorial increase as the result of Balkan Wars.
Austria alarmed at prospect of Serbia trying to annex Slav provinces of Dual Monarchy.
1914. Assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand. Austrian ultimatum to Serbia. Russia supported Serbia. Germany supported Austria. France supported Russia.
European War broke out.

26. THE EUROPEAN WAR OF 1914–1918

CAUSES:

(1) Growth of German power during the latter part of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth century.
(2) Formation of alliances:
  (*a*) Triple. Germany, Austria, and Italy.
  (*b*) Dual. France and Russia.
  Great Britain uncommitted to either.
(3) Expansion of German industry. German need for colonies. Germany was late in the "scramble" for tropical lands.
(4) Competition in armaments:
  Military: Germany and France.
  Naval: Germany and Great Britain. This naval rivalry compelled Great Britain to approach the Dual Alliance.
1904. Formation of Dual Entente.
1907. Triple Entente.
(5) German influence in the Balkans:
  (*a*) Turkey. Commercial concessions.
  (*b*) Roumania.
  (*c*) Bulgaria.
  Kings of German origin.
  (*d*) Greece. King married German princess.
  But Serbia was a Slav state and relied on Russia for protection.
(6) Provocative attitude of German Emperor.

IMMEDIATE CAUSE:

1914. (June). Murder of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, at Sarajevo, in Bosnia. Austrian ultimatum to Serbia. Followed by war.

ALLIANCES:

Immediate:

Great Britain
France
Russia
Serbia
Belgium
v.
Germany.
Austria.

N.B. Great Britain demanded of both France and Germany assurances *re* neutrality of Belgium. Given by France. Refused by Germany. German invasion of Belgium followed by British declaration of war.

Later:

Italy, Roumania, and several other states joined allies.
Turkey and Bulgaria joined central powers.

GERMAN PLAN OF CAMPAIGN:

Germany had to meet attacks from the east and from the west. It was assumed that Russian attack would develop slowly. Intention to deliver crushing blow upon France at once, and then to transfer armies to the east to meet Russian menace.

OUTLINE OF THE EVENTS OF THE WAR:

1914. (1) German invasion of France by way of Belgium. French and
British resisted the advance of the German right under Von
Kluck at the Battle of the Marne, and forced him back. Ger-
mans thus failed to reach Paris. Trench warfare on a line
1914–18. between the Swiss frontier and the North Sea. Constant
bombardment. Occasional great battles.

1914. (2) Russian attack on Germany and Austria in the east. Russian
1915. disaster at Tannenberg. Some successes against Austrians at
first. Progress in Galicia. Threatened invasion of Hungary.
Might have resulted in the withdrawal of Austria-Hungary
from the war. German assistance for Austria. Russians
defeated and forced back.

1914. (3) (*a*) Turkey entered war. Cut off Russia from her western
1915. allies and prevented re-equipment. British attempt to
capture the Gallipoli Peninsula and force the Dardanelles.
If this had succeeded Russia might have received supplies
and the Russian collapse might have been averted.
1917. (*b*) Mesopotamia conquered from the Turks.
1917. (*c*) Palestine conquered from the Turks after the failure of
their attack on the Suez Canal.

1915. (4) Italy entered the war. Hoped to gain "Italia Irredenta"
(Trieste and the Trentino). Successes against Austrians in
1916. Austrian successes against Italians in 1917. British
and French help needed to prevent Austrian conquest of
North Italy.

1915 (Aug.). (5) (*a*) Bulgaria allied with central powers
1916 (Aug.). (*b*) Roumania allied with western powers. Roumanians
1918. invaded Transylvania. Defeated. Roumania invaded.
Treaty of Bucharest.
1915–18. (*c*) Presence of an allied force at Salonika prevented Greece
from joining central powers.

(6) Naval blockade of the German coast. German raids on
1916. British coast. Battle of Jutland. Germans failed to break
the blockade.

(7) German blockade of Great Britain by means of submarines.
Heavy losses sustained by the British mercantile marine.
Submarines energetically attacked by the British navy.

1917. (8) United States entered the war after the beginning of "unre-
stricted" submarine warfare. American army in Europe.
American navy co-operated with British. Great moral effect
on the central powers.

1917. (9) (*a*) Collapse of Russia. Revolution. Tsar deposed and put
to death. Disorder. Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.
1918. Russia withdrew from the war. Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.
German troops transferred to the west.
1918. (*b*) Final German and Austrian attacks in west and against Italy.
Unity of allied command under Marshal Foch. Trench
warfare abandoned. Advance of allies. Great suffering

in Germany from effects of blockade. Collapse of Turkey and Bulgaria followed by that of Austria and Germany. Armistice.

BRITISH EFFORT IN THE WAR:

(1) Overwhelming naval strength.
(2) Financial assistance to allies.
(3) Large army.
(4) Assistance from self-governing Dominions.

SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF THE WAR:

(1) Heavy artillery bombardment.
(2) Trench warfare.
(3) Use of poison-gas.
(4) Mines and torpedoes at sea.
(5) Submarines.
(6) Aerial warfare.
  (*a*) Air raids on towns.
  (*b*) Air duels in the battle areas.
(7) Heavy lists of casualties.

27. THE PEACE OF VERSAILLES

1918 (Jan.). THE FOURTEEN POINTS:

Suggested by President Wilson as a basis for peace. Included:
(1) No secret treaties.
(2) Free navigation at sea to all nations in peace and war.
(3) Invaded territories in Belgium, France, Italy, and the Balkan states to be vacated and restored.
(4) Autonomy to peoples of Dual Monarchy and Ottoman Empire.
(5) An independent Poland to be set up.
(6) League of Nations to be formed for prevention of war in future.

(Sept.). Austria asked for discussion of the terms. Wilson refused.
(Sept.). Bulgaria asked for armistice.
(Oct.). Turkey asked for armistice.
(Oct.). Germany and Austria asked for armistice.

Allies agreed to accept the Fourteen Points as basis of armistice, except that:
(*a*) Great Britain retained a free hand at the Peace Conference in dealing with "freedom of the seas."
(*b*) Allies insisted that enemy powers should not only "restore" invaded territories, but should make good all damage to civilian property by land, sea, and air.

(9 Nov.). German Emperor fled.
(11 Nov.). Austrian Emperor abdicated.

Republics in Germany, Austria, and Hungary.
Armistice on basis of the Fourteen Points as amended.

TERMS OF ARMISTICE:

(1) German troops evacuated invaded territories and Alsace-Lorraine. Withdrew to right bank of Rhine. Allies advanced to Rhine.
(2) German fleet surrendered.
(3) Quantities of guns, aeroplanes, locomotives, etc., handed over to allies.
(4) Release of prisoners of war by central powers.
(5) Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and Treaty of Bucharest cancelled. Conquered regions to be at disposal of Peace Conference.

1919 PEACE TREATIES:

With Germany: Versailles.
With Austria: St. Germain.
With Hungary: Trianon.
With Bulgaria: Neuilly.
With Turkey: Sèvres. This was not ratified. Final terms of
1923. peace with Turkey were included in Treaty of Lausanne.

1919. PEACE CONFERENCE:

At Paris. Large assembly of diplomats.
Great Britain represented by Mr. Lloyd George.
France represented by M. Clemenceau.
United States represented by Mr. Woodrow Wilson.
The peace was, in the main, the work of these three statesmen.

TERMS OF PEACE:

A. *League of Nations:*

Covenant included in each of the treaties. The defeated powers were not at this time admitted into the League.

B. *Reparations:*

(People of Great Britain and France wanted Germany to pay whole cost of war, but Wilson contended that this would violate terms of armistice and would be a breach of faith.)

(1) Germany to pay cost of restoring devastated areas,
restoring civilian property,
war pensions in allied countries,
and to take over Belgian war debt. Reparations Commission to fix amount of reparations, and to draw up scheme of instalments.
(2) Germany to surrender all merchant vessels of over 1,600 tons, and some smaller vessels.
(3) Germany to pay annual tribute of coal to France, Belgium, and Italy for ten years. French to occupy Saar valley coal-field for fifteen years.
(4) Austria to surrender her merchant fleet.
(5) Austria and Bulgaria to pay indemnities.

C. *Disarmament:*

(German navy already surrendered.)
(1) Number and tonnage of vessels in new German navy prescribed. No submarines.

(2) Austrian navy to be surrendered.
(3) Neither Germany nor Austria to build aircraft for war purposes.

(4) Armies limited:
Germany: 100,000.
Austria: 30,000.
Hungary: 35,000.
Bulgaria: 20,000.
Compulsory military service to cease.

(These measures were to be regarded as preliminary to a general reduction in armaments by all powers.)

Army of occupation in the Rhineland for fifteen years.

D. *Territorial changes:*

(Based mainly on the principle of nationality. France wanted to secure the Rhine boundary, but was overruled.)

(1) Alsace and Lorraine to France. (At armistice.)
(2) Some small districts to Belgium. (Plebiscite in Malmédy.)
(3) Saar valley to France for fifteen years.
(4) Trieste, Istria, Trentino, and South Tyrol to Italy.
(5) Plebiscite in Schleswig:
Northern Schleswig united with Denmark.
Central Schleswig remained in Germany.

(6) Poland to be an independent republic. To include:
Russian Poland.
Galicia.
Posen and West Prussia.
Part of Upper Silesia (after plebiscite).
(7) Danzig to be a Free City under the League of Nations, in order that Poland might have access to the sea.
(8) Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania } new states.
(9) Independence of Finland recognised.
(10) Austria to be a republic, separate from Hungary. No coastline. Forbidden to unite with Germany without consent of Council of League.

(11) Czechoslovakia to be a republic. To include:
Bohemia.
Moravia.
Some Hungarian territory.
(12) Yugoslavia to consist of the former kingdom of Serbia, enlarged by the inclusion of Montenegro, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia.
(13) Hungary to be a republic. Reduced in size.

(14) Roumania received:

Transylvania from Hungary.
Bessarabia, Bukovina } from Russia.
Dobrudja from Bulgaria.

(15) Bulgaria was cut off from the Ægean.

N.B. (*a*) In some cases populations were mixed.
  (*b*) Poland, Roumania, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia signed treaties guaranteeing the rights of minorities.

E. *Colonies and distant provinces:*

Austria and Bulgaria had no colonies.

German colonies
Certain Turkish provinces } placed in charge of various states under mandates from the League of Nations.

French mandates:
  Syria.
  Most of Togoland and Kamerun.

British mandates:
  Palestine.
  Mesopotamia.
  Transjordan.
  Small part of Togoland and Kamerun.
  Tanganyika.

South African mandate:
  German South-West Africa.

Australian mandate:
  German New Guinea.

New Zealand mandate:
  Samoa.

Mandate of Great Britain, Australia, and New Zealand (jointly):
  Nauru.

Japanese mandate:
  Caroline Islands.

N.B. Arabia became independent.

CRITICISM OF THE SETTLEMENT:

Contra:

(1) Failure to reach an understanding with Bolshevik Government of Russia rendered the settlement incomplete.

(2) Attitude of some of the allies on certain points at the Peace Conference. Some efforts to evade the amended Fourteen Points:
  (*a*) Attempt of France to secure Rhine boundary.
  (*b*) Attempt of Italy to secure Dalmatia.
  (*c*) Attempt of Poland to secure the whole of Upper Silesia.

(3) Failure of the allies to produce a scheme of general disarmament.

(4) Reparations settlement:
  (*a*) Doubtful whether it was consistent with the terms of the armistice.
  (*b*) Possibility that the payments would ruin both debtor and creditor nations. (Unemployment, trade depression.)

(5) Terms of peace could not have been harsher if peace had been concluded with Imperial German and Austrian Governments. Yet republics had been established in Germany and Austria.

(6) Armenians not removed from Turkish rule.

Pro:

(1) Liberation of oppressed peoples and their establishment in independent states or under Governments of their own race.

(2) The taking of plebiscites in doubtful regions. Provinces settled in accordance with wishes of majority.

(3) Protection of minorities by special treaties.

(4) Conquered colonies and provinces ruled in interests of native populations.

(5) Establishment of the League of Nations in order to provide means of settling international disputes.

28. THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

CONCEPTION OF THE LEAGUE:

Included by President Wilson in the Fourteen Points. Elaborated by:

Mr. Lansing	of the United States.
Colonel House	
Lord Robert Cecil	of the British Empire
General Smuts	
Lord Phillimore	

COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE:

(1) Independent nations of the world, including self-governing Dominions of the British Empire, invited to accept membership of a League of Nations, with its headquarters at Geneva.

(2) The primary aim of the League was to be the prevention of war.

(3) Every member-state undertook not to go to war without first submitting the matter in dispute to the League for consideration, and not to declare war until three months had elapsed after the League had announced its decision.

(4) If any member-state violated this undertaking, others might take action by

Stopping trade.
Blockade.
Force.

(5) League to be concerned only with international disputes. No interference with domestic affairs. League could not intervene to put down a revolution. (Contrast with Holy Alliance.)

(6) Member-states to renounce secret diplomacy. Copies of all treaties to be deposited with the League.
(7) League empowered to call attention to treaties which might become dangerous to peace and to suggest their revision.

ORGANISATION OF THE LEAGUE:

Assembly:
Representatives of all member-states. Annual meeting at Geneva.

Council:
To meet three times a year, and at any time if an emergency should arise. Permanent members, representing the great powers. Non-permanent members elected from time to time by the smaller states.

Secretariat:
Permanent International Civil Service.

Court of International Justice:
At The Hague. A number of judges appointed to it. Disputes to be referred to Court for settlement in accordance with the provisions of:
International Law.
Treaties between parties to the dispute.

International Labour Organisation:
To bring industrial conditions in backward countries up to the level of those prevailing elsewhere.
Draft Conventions on many topics. Binding on states which ratify them.

WORK OF THE LEAGUE:

Mandatory System:
Backward regions not to be exploited, but to be placed under the guardianship of more advanced countries.
Mandatory power to submit annual report to the League.
Peoples ruled under mandate expected to make progress and to be ultimately eligible for membership of the League.

Slavery:
League aimed at its suppression wherever it existed.

Dangerous drugs:
Trade in dangerous drugs controlled by international action.

1928. THE KELLOGG PACT:

Accepted by most civilised states. "To renounce war as an instrument of national policy."

Importance of the Pact:
(1) Signed by two powers (United States and Russia) which were not members of the League.
(2) Filled up the "gap" in the Covenant.

PREVENTION OF WAR:

1920–1. (i) Finland and Sweden.
1920–3. (ii) Poland and Lithuania.

1923. (iii) Italy and Greece.
1925. (iv) Greece and Bulgaria.

THE DISARMAMENT PROBLEM:

1922 and 1930. *Naval limitation treaties:* Five powers.
1932–4. *Disarmament Conference* at Geneva:

Proposals:
- (1) Proportionate reduction.
- (2) Prohibition of aerial and submarine warfare.
- (3) Financial limitation.

No agreement reached.

1933. Germany withdrew from the Conference and from the League.

DECLINE IN PRESTIGE OF LEAGUE:

Causes:
- (1) Spirit of nationalism undiminished. World not ready for international co-operation.
- (2) Non-adhesion or withdrawal of important powers.
- (3) Absence of any satisfactory means, within League organisation, of modifying territorial settlement of Europe made in 1919.
- (4) Reluctance of member-states to fulfil their obligations, especially in the application of sanctions.
- (5) Tendency of certain states to disregard treaty obligations.
- (6) Early prestige gained in the settlement of disputes in which small states were involved; failure of League to coerce great powers.

29. EUROPE BETWEEN TWO WARS

PROBLEMS TO BE FACED:
- (1) Exhaustion and impoverishment of Europe.
- (2) Attitude of Germany—submission or defiance.
- (3) Communist activity in several countries.
- (4) Relations of Russia to the rest of Europe.
- (5) Final settlement with Turkey.

GERMAN REPUBLIC:

Early difficulties:
- (1) Monarchist intrigues on behalf of William II or his son.
- (2) Communist activity, aiming at subversion of society and alliance with Russia.

Constitution:
- (1) Provincial divisions retained.
- (2) Reichstag:
  - (*a*) Extended powers.
  - (*b*) Elected by universal suffrage (male and female).
  - (*c*) Ministers responsible to Reichstag.
- (3) Reichsrath represented the provinces. Replaced the Bundesrath.
- (4) President to be directly elected.

Reparations controversy:

1921. Reparations Commission fixed total of reparations at £6,600,000,000, payable in sixty-six annual instalments of £100,000,000. To be secured on customs and in other ways.

German Government asked for two years' delay. France refused, and sent army into the Ruhr. Strikes. Factories forcibly opened, and production continued. German Government submitted, and agreed to pay.

1924. New scheme drawn up by committee under General Dawes. Instalments to begin at £50,000,000 per annum, and to increase year by year to £125,000,000. Plan accepted. The Ruhr evacuated.

1929. Dawes plan replaced by Young plan. Army of occupation withdrawn.

Presidents:

1919–25. Friedrich Ebert. Died.

1925. Hindenburg elected. Hitherto Monarchist, but after his election was loyal to republic. Added to stability of republic.

1925. *Locarno treaties:*

Of mutual security.

(1) With France. Existing Franco-German frontier to be permanently maintained. If either France or Germany attacked the other, Great Britain and Italy would oppose the aggressor.

(2) With Poland and Czechoslovakia. Frontiers not guaranteed, but it was agreed that rectification should be sought only by peaceful means.

1926. Followed by admission of Germany into the League of Nations.

Nazi rule:

Nazi aims:

(1) Disavowal of responsibility for European war.
(2) Discontinuance of reparations payments.
(3) Rearmament of Germany.
(4) Recovery of lost German colonies.
(5) Recovery of "German" territories in Europe.
(6) (General) Restoration of status of Germany as a great power.

Causes of rise of Nazis:

(1) Appeal to German national sentiment.
(2) Disappointment with results of Stresemann's rule.
(3) Economic collapse.

Rise of Adolf Hitler:

Important after 1930.
1932. Contested presidency with Hindenburg.
1933 (Jan.). Chancellor.
(Mar.). Majority in Reichstag.
Dictatorship.
1934 (June). Rohm conspiracy suppressed.
(Aug.). Combined presidency with chancellorship.

Characteristics of Nazi rule:

(1) Persecution of Jews and Communists.
(2) Hostility to Roman Catholicism and Lutheranism.
(3) Disregard of treaties.
(4) Rearmament.

AUSTRIA:

Small, unimportant, and without coastline. One large city—Vienna. Neither industries nor resources to support population.

League of Nations assisted Austria to reorganise finances and re-establish industry and trade.

Activity of Heimwehr (reactionary party) and of Socialists.

1931. Customs Union with Germany proposed. Opposed by France and other powers. Proposal dropped.

Socialist revolt crushed by Herr Dollfuss, with assistance of Heimwehr.

1934. Attempt of Austrian Nazis to overthrow Government and secure Austro-German union. Murder of Dollfuss. Attempt otherwise failed.

1938. German annexation of Austria.

HUNGARY:

Communists:

1919. Under Bela Kun. Gained control of Government. Collapsed.

Little Entente:

Czechoslovakia	To prevent restoration of monarchy in Hungary, as this might be followed by Hungarian attempt to recover lost territories.
Yugoslavia	
Roumania	

1921. *Monarchists:*

Two attempts made to restore Karl. Failed. Country afterwards ruled by Admiral Horthy as "Regent."

TURKEY:

1919. *Terms of Treaty of Sèvres:*

(1) Turks to lose all European territory except Constantinople and its immediate neighbourhood.
(2) Turks to lose all Asiatic territory except Asia Minor.
(3) Dardanelles to be placed under an International Commission. Fortifications to be dismantled.
(4) Armenians to be freed from Turkish control. (United States refused mandate for Armenia.)
(5) Greece to receive region round Smyrna.
(6) Iraq, Palestine, and Syria to be placed under mandates.
(7) Arabia independent.

Delay in ratification. Turkish Nationalist party under Mustapha
1923. Kemal Ataturk deposed Sultan and established republic. Government at Angora. Could not be coerced so readily as Government at Constantinople. Terms revised.

1923. *Treaty of Lausanne:*

(1) Turks to retain European territory of 1914 and the Smyrna region.

(2) Turks to retain control of Armenia.
(3) Other arrangements to stand.

Present-day Turkey:

(1) Government in form constitutional. Really a dictatorship, but not aggressive. Legislative Assembly. Universal suffrage.
(2) Caliphate abolished. Religious toleration.
(3) Turkish script replaced by western alphabet.

1936. *Dardanelles:*

Refortification begun, with consent of League.

RUSSIA:

Bolshevism:

1917. Bolshevik Government established. Efforts to overthrow it supported directly or indirectly by other countries. Unsuccessful.

Bolsheviks fostered Communist propaganda in other countries. Unsuccessful.

Unwilling recognition on both sides.

1924. Formal recognition by France and Great Britain.

Indirect recognition by other countries through treaties and trade relations.

Bolshevik rule:

Associated with cruelty,
religious persecution,
poverty.

These were features of Tsarist rule also, and are characteristic of Russia rather than of Bolshevism.

Economic development:

1928–32. Five-year plan.

1933–8. Second five-year plan.

Foreign policy:

(1) Measures of defence against possible German attack:
  (*a*) Non-aggression pacts with neighbours.
  (*b*) Entry into League of Nations.
  (*c*) Alliance with France.

(2) Measures against Japan:
  Strong forces in the Far East, in consequence of Japanese occupation of Manchuria.

ITALY:

Italia Irredenta:

Italy demanded, at the Peace Conference, Istria (including Trieste and Fiume) and Dalmatia.

Yugoslavia declared that Fiume was needed as an outlet for her trade.

Peace Conference left the question for settlement by direct negotiation.

1920. D'Annunzio seized Fiume.

1920. Treaty of Rapallo:

(1) Italy to receive Istria.

(2) Yugoslavia to receive most of Dalmatia.

(3) Fiume to be an independent Free City open to the trade of both nations.

Fiume afterwards annexed to Italy. Yugoslavia permitted to use it for commercial purposes.

Fascists:

Organisation controlled by Mussolini, in opposition to Communist propaganda.

Obtained control of Government. Dictatorship. Economic and social reforms.

Papacy:

1929. Settlement of the quarrel between Italy and the Papacy.

(1) Small area assigned to the Pope in full sovereignty. Vatican city.

(2) Kingdom of Italy recognised by the Pope.

Foreign policy of Mussolini:

(1) For some years peaceful, despite bellicose speeches.

1928. (2) Kellogg Pact.

1934. (3) Opposed Nazi attempt on Austrian independence.

1935. (4) Alliance with Great Britain and France, against Germany, at Stresa.

1935–6. (5) Conquest of Abyssinia. Coolness with Great Britain. British interests threatened.

1936. (6) Understanding between Germany and Italy.

1936–8. (7) Italian intervention in Spain.

1938. (8) Agreement with Great Britain.

SPAIN:

Neutral during the European War.

Morocco:

Heavy Spanish losses in quelling the rebellion of the Riffs in Spanish Morocco.

Dictatorship:

1923. General Primo de Rivera. Constitution suspended for some years. Plots and revolts.

Republican activity:

Discontinuance of dictatorship led to popular discontent being directed against monarchy. Series of plots.

1931. Overthrow of monarchy.

1936–8. *Civil War:*

Franco's revolt against republic. Struggle of Fascism *v.* Communism.

Outside assistance to both sides. "Miniature European War."

British policy of non-intervention.

DICTATORSHIPS:

Many republics in Europe after the war. Displacement of the old ruling families. Parliaments set up. Responsible ministries. Nineteenth-century aspirations fulfilled.

Disappointment with the results of democratic government, which came when Europe was impoverished and unsettled. Little immediate gain from the establishment of democratic government.

Dictatorships set up in many countries. Many of them short-lived. Some lasted longer because of efficiency and prosperity. Aggressive. Failure in the final clash with democracy.

30. THE WORLD WAR OF 1939–1945

COMPARISON WITH WAR OF 1914–1918:

First war not expected by ordinary people. War was regarded as remote from daily life.

Second war expected. Trend of events for some time had been towards war.

PRE-WAR EVENTS:

1933. (1) Growth of Nazi party in Germany. Hitler, dictator.
(2) Hitler's real aim (secret):
War of revenge, and mastery of Europe.
(3) Hitler's professed aims:
  (*a*) To restore Germany to her rightful place in Europe, but not to make war.
  (*b*) To discontinue reparations payments.
  (*c*) To re-arm Germany.
  (*d*) To recover lost German colonies.
  (*e*) To recover lost German territories in Europe.
(4) German rearmament. Conscription. Army. Navy (battleships, cruisers, destroyers, submarines). Air force. Guns and tanks. Secrecy.
(5) Failure of other powers to prevent German rearmament. Policy of appeasement, when Germany was fully armed.
1936. (6) German occupation of Rhineland.
1938. (7) German annexation of Austria.
1938. (8) Czechoslavakia. Hitler demanded cession of Sudetenland. Danger of war. Agreement at Munich between Chamberlain and Hitler:
  (*a*) Sudetenland to be ceded to Germany.
  (*b*) Hitler not to take more Czech territory.
  (*c*) Future disputes between Great Britain and Germany to be settled peacefully.
  "Peace with honour," or "total unmitigated defeat." British nation, as well as statesmen, responsible for policy of appeasement.

1939 (Mar.). (9) German occupation of Czechoslavakia. Violation of Munich agreement. Failure of policy of appeasement. War certain.

(10) Increase in armaments on both sides. Conscription in Great Britain.

(11) Poland and Danzig. Hitler resolved to annex Danzig and the corridor. Demand to Poland for a military road across corridor; Poles refused. Great Britain guaranteed Poland.

(12) Hitler held back while there was danger of war in both east and west.

(Aug.). (13) Treaty of friendship and neutrality between Germany and Russia.

THE WAR:

Poland:

(Sept.). German invasion. Air-raid on Warsaw.

British ultimatum to Germany. Disregarded. Great Britain declared war. British Dominions (except Eire) and France joined in the war.

Russian invasion of Poland. Conquest. Division of Poland between Germany and Russia.

(Sept.-Dec.). *Finland:*

Russian attack. Conquest of stretch of Finnish territory near Leningrad.

1939–40. *War in the West (winter):*

British force in France. Trench warfare. Maginot line and Siegfried line.

Naval activity:

British blockade of Germany.

German attacks on British merchant shipping by surface raiders and submarines. Defence by navy and from air. 996 enemy submarines destroyed during war by Great Britain and allies.

1940. *War in the West (spring):*

German invasion of:

Denmark—little resistance.
Norway—much opposition.
Holland—much opposition. Dykes opened.
Belgium—some resistance.

British army in critical position. Evacuation from Dunkirk. Loss of guns and equipment. Severe rearguard fighting at Calais and elsewhere.

1940. *France:*

German invasion from Belgium. Uselessness of Maginot line, which did not cover Franco-Belgian frontier. Rapid conquest. Collapse of the republic. Government of Marshal Pétain, at Vichy.

Armistice:

(1) German occupation of large part of France, including Atlantic and Channel coasts.

(2) Cost of occupation to be borne by France.
(3) Release of German prisoners of war in France; no release of French prisoners of war in Germany.
(4) Food and other things to be sent to Germany.
(5) French fleet not to be yielded to Germany for use against Great Britain.

1940. *Italy:*
Declared war against France and Great Britain. Demanded Nice, Savoy, and Corsica from France. No help from Germany.
Italian attack on Greece (from Albania). British assistance to Greece. Italians defeated. German assistance to Italians. Greece conquered. British withdrew to Crete; then to Egypt.

1940. *Great Britain:*
Danger of invasion:
Army disorganised, with little equipment.
Navy prepared.
Royal Air Force efficient, but small.
Change of Government. Winston Churchill, Prime Minister.
Formation of Home Guard.
Production of munitions.
Building of ships and aeroplanes.

1940–1. *Aerial warfare:*
(Sept.). German daylight attacks on R.A.F., as a preliminary to invasion. Failure; heavy German losses.
(Winter). German night attacks on London and other English towns. Damage and casualties. Failure to intimidate people or to destroy war industries.
(Winter). R.A.F. attacks on docks and shipping in Channel ports.

United States:
(*a*) Aloofness at first. Neutrality Act. "Cash and carry." Advantage to Great Britain.
1940 (June). (*b*) American belief that Great Britain would be defeated. Battle of Oran. Change of American view. Increasing sympathy.
(*c*) Roosevelt's determination to help Great Britain.
(i) Fifty destroyers.
1941. (ii) Lease-lend.
1941. (*d*) Meeting of Churchill and Roosevelt. Atlantic Charter.

1941–4. *Russia.*
1941 (June). German attack without warning. Expectation of easy victory, and of gaining food from Ukraine and oil from Caucasus.
(Autumn). German efforts to take Leningrad, Moscow, and Sebastopol. Failure.
(Winter). Some Russian territory recovered.

1942. Further German advance. Conquest of Ukraine and Crimea, including Sebastopol. Advance to Caucasus. Siege of Stalingrad.

Russian recovery. German army at Stalingrad surrounded and captured.

Gradual expulsion of Germans from Russian territory.

Japan:

1941 (Dec.). Attack, without warning, on American fleet at Pearl Harbour, Hawaii. United States declared war on Japan and on Germany and Italy. Great Britain at war with Japan.

The Chief Powers in the War:

Great Britain British Dominions United States Russia China	*v.*	Germany Italy Japan

The War with Japan:

Japan prepared; United States and Great Britain not ready for war in the Pacific.

Early Japanese successes. Conquest of Hong Kong, Philippines, Malaya (including Singapore), Burma, and part of New Guinea. Also of many other Pacific islands. Small invasion of India; repelled. Threatened invasion of Australia did not take place.

Allied forces small at first. Increased later.

General MacArthur, supreme commander in Pacific.

Lord Louis Mountbatten, supreme commander in South-east Asia. Great difficulties overcome.

Recovery of Burma, the Philippines, and Malaya.

North Africa:

Reconquest of Abyssinia from Italians by allies. Conquest of Italian Somaliland.

Italian and German forces in Libya. British forces in Egypt.

British advance into Libya (twice). Followed by retirement.

1942–3. Italians and Germans driven out of Libya by Montgomery. Conquest of Tripoli. Tunis invaded.

1942. Anglo-American force landed in North-west Africa. Occupa-
tion of Algeria. Free French force joined allies. Invasion
1943. of Tunis and junction with Montgomery. Conquest of
Tunis and final expulsion of enemy forces from Africa.

Mediterranean:

Claimed by Mussolini as "Mare Nostrum." British controlled both ends.

1941. Battle of Cape Matapan. British naval victory over Italians.

Siege of Malta. Heavy air-raids. Malta not captured.

1942. *France:*
Remainder of country occupied by German forces, in order to resist any allied invasion from the south.
German attempt to seize French fleet at Toulon. Failed. Ships scuttled.

Italy:
Sicily conquered by Anglo-American forces.
Invasion of mainland.
Overthrow of Mussolini. Government of Marshal Badoglio.
1943. Italy surrendered unconditionally.
1943–4 German opposition to allied advance in Italy continued. Italy declared war on Germany.
Germans ultimately driven from Italy.

Invasion of Europe:
Preparations in England. Eisenhower in command, assisted by Tedder and Montgomery. Accumulation of men, equipment, and stores. Secrecy. "Mulberry." "Pluto." Air-raids on German towns, railways, and canals.
German perplexity. Uncertain whether one landing would be attempted, or more than one.
1944 (June). Allied landing in Normandy. Capture of Cherbourg. Advance to Loire; Seine; Paris; German frontier.
Allied invasion of south-east France, from Italy.
Allied landing in south of France. Germans cleared from south of France.
(Dec.). German counter-attack towards Belgium. Soon repelled.
Allied invasion of Germany from the west. Russian invasion from the east.
1945 (Apr.). Suicide of Hitler.
(May). Germany surrendered unconditionally.

POST-WAR MEASURES:
Allied occupation of Germany. Four zones.
German forces withdrawn from all occupied countries.
War materials seized.
Prisoners in concentration camps released.
Trials of war criminals.
Trial of leaders of German Government, at Nuremberg.

GERMAN MISTAKES IN THE WAR:
(1) Failure to invade England immediately after Dunkirk.
(2) The attack on Russia.
(3) Failure to conciliate conquered peoples.

THE WAR WITH JAPAN:
Concentration of allied forces against Japanese after collapse of Germany.
Atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.
Japan surrendered unconditionally.

POST-WAR MEASURES:

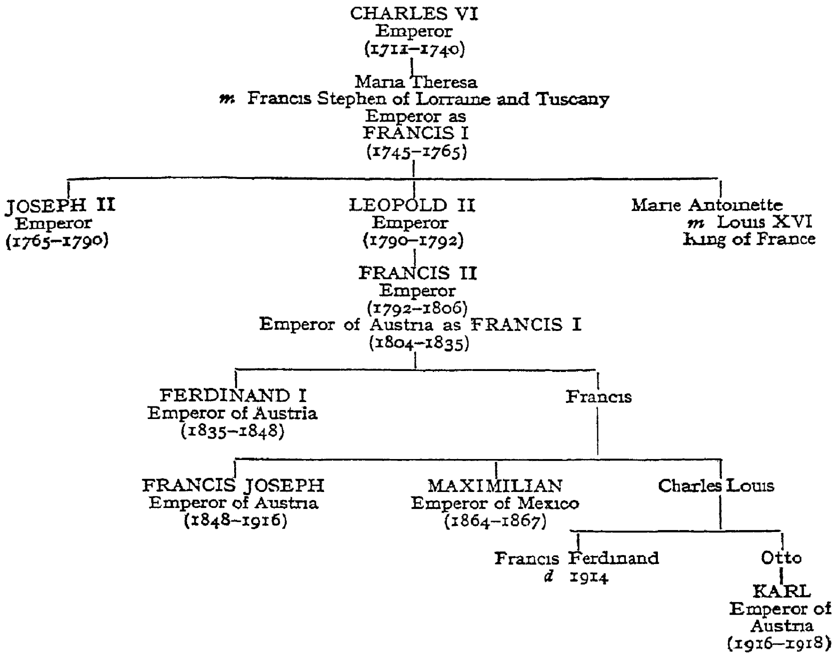
Occupation of Japan, under General MacArthur.
New Japanese Government, subject to MacArthur.
Trials of war criminals.
Trial of leaders of Japanese Government.

UNITED NATIONS:

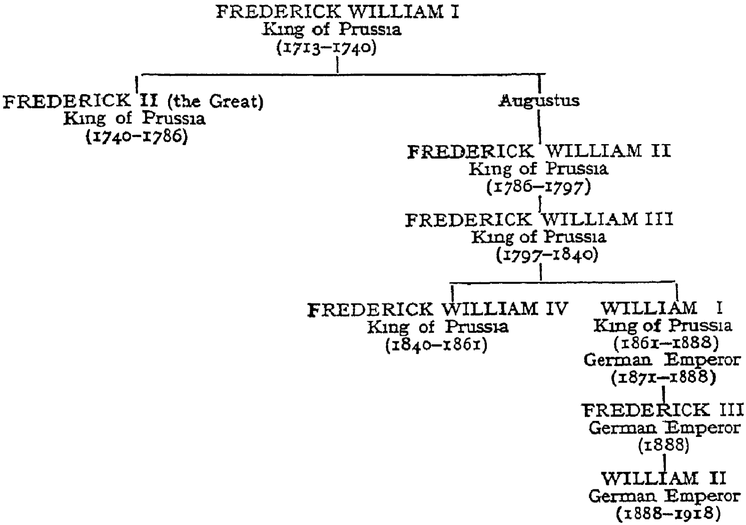
1945 (April). Conference at San Francisco. Charter drawn up:
  (1) Assembly—all member-states.
  (2) Security Council—great powers and some smaller states.
  (3) Court of International Justice at The Hague.
Comparison with League of Nations:
  (1) Membership of United States and Russia.
  (2) Power of Security Council.

GENEALOGICAL TABLES

THE HAPSBURGS

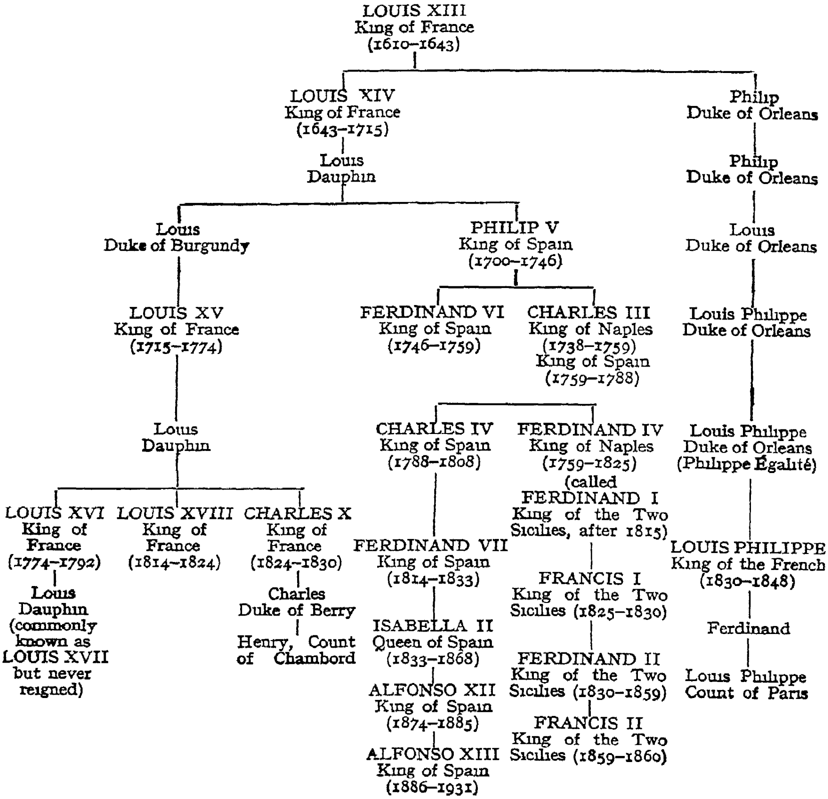

CHARLES VI
Emperor
(1711–1740)
Maria Theresa
m Francis Stephen of Lorraine and Tuscany
Emperor as
FRANCIS I
(1745–1765)
JOSEPH II
Emperor
(1765–1790)
LEOPOLD II
Emperor
(1790–1792)
Marie Antoinette
m Louis XVI
King of France
FRANCIS II
Emperor
(1792–1806)
Emperor of Austria as FRANCIS I
(1804–1835)
FERDINAND I
Emperor of Austria
(1835–1848)
Francis
FRANCIS JOSEPH
Emperor of Austria
(1848–1916)
MAXIMILIAN
Emperor of Mexico
(1864–1867)
Charles Louis
Francis Ferdinand
d 1914
Otto
KARL
Emperor of
Austria
(1916–1918)

THE HOHENZOLLERNS

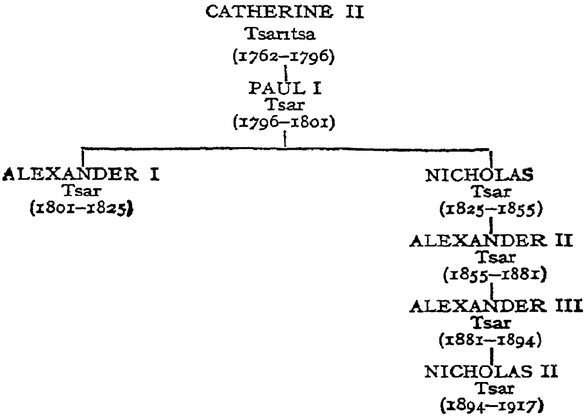

FREDERICK WILLIAM I
King of Prussia
(1713–1740)
FREDERICK II (the Great)
King of Prussia
(1740–1786)
Augustus
FREDERICK WILLIAM II
King of Prussia
(1786–1797)
FREDERICK WILLIAM III
King of Prussia
(1797–1840)
FREDERICK WILLIAM IV
King of Prussia
(1840–1861)
WILLIAM I
King of Prussia
(1861–1888)
German Emperor
(1871–1888)
FREDERICK III
German Emperor
(1888)
WILLIAM II
German Emperor
(1888–1918)

THE BOURBONS

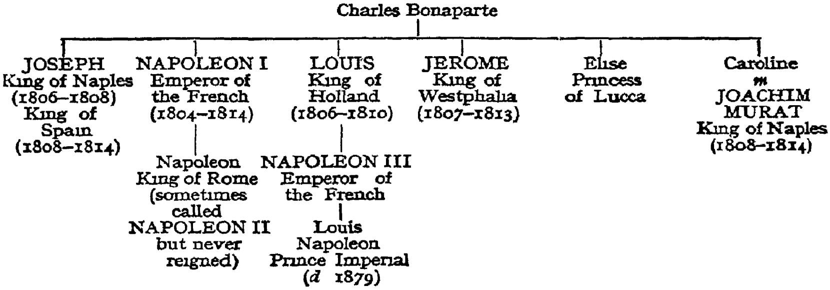
In France, Spain, and Naples


LOUIS XIII King of France (1610–1643)
LOUIS XIV King of France (1643–1715)
Philip Duke of Orleans
Louis Dauphin
Philip Duke of Orleans
Louis Duke of Burgundy
PHILIP V King of Spain (1700–1746)
Louis Duke of Orleans
LOUIS XV King of France (1715–1774)
FERDINAND VI King of Spain (1746–1759)
CHARLES III King of Naples (1738–1759) King of Spain (1759–1788)
Louis Philippe Duke of Orleans
Louis Dauphin
CHARLES IV King of Spain (1788–1808)
FERDINAND IV King of Naples (1759–1825) (called FERDINAND I King of the Two Sicilies, after 1815)
Louis Philippe Duke of Orleans (Philippe Égalité)
LOUIS XVI King of France (1774–1792)
LOUIS XVIII King of France (1814–1824)
CHARLES X King of France (1824–1830)
FERDINAND VII King of Spain (1814–1833)
LOUIS PHILIPPE King of the French (1830–1848)
Louis Dauphin (commonly known as LOUIS XVII but never reigned)
Charles Duke of Berry
FRANCIS I King of the Two Sicilies (1825–1830)
ISABELLA II Queen of Spain (1833–1868)
Ferdinand
Henry, Count of Chambord
FERDINAND II King of the Two Sicilies (1830–1859)
Louis Philippe Count of Paris
ALFONSO XII King of Spain (1874–1885)
FRANCIS II King of the Two Sicilies (1859–1860)
ALFONSO XIII King of Spain (1886–1931)

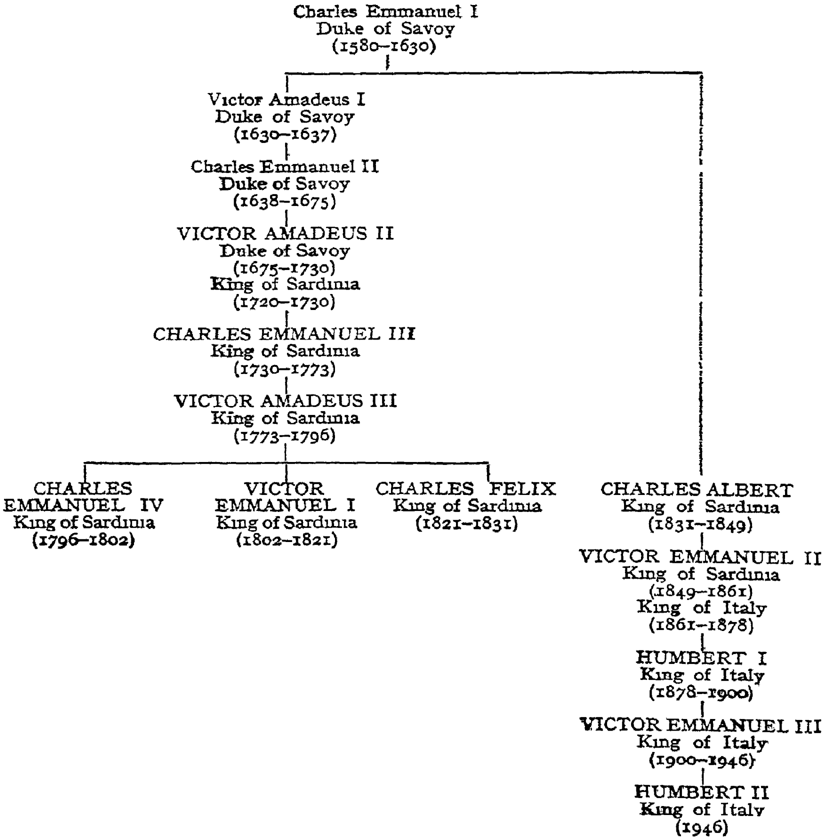
THE ROMANOFFS


CATHERINE II
Tsaritsa
(1762–1796)
PAUL I
Tsar
(1796–1801)
ALEXANDER I
Tsar
(1801–1825)
NICHOLAS
Tsar
(1825–1855)
ALEXANDER II
Tsar
(1855–1881)
ALEXANDER III
Tsar
(1881–1894)
NICHOLAS II
Tsar
(1894–1917)

THE BONAPARTES


Charles Bonaparte
JOSEPH
King of Naples
(1806–1808)
King of
Spain
(1808–1814)
NAPOLEON I
Emperor of
the French
(1804–1814)
LOUIS
King of
Holland
(1806–1810)
JEROME
King of
Westphalia
(1807–1813)
Elise
Princess
of Lucca
Caroline
m
JOACHIM
MURAT
King of Naples
(1808–1814)
Napoleon
King of Rome
(sometimes
called
NAPOLEON II
but never
reigned)
NAPOLEON III
Emperor of
the French
Louis
Napoleon
Prince Imperial
(d 1879)

HOUSE OF SAVOY


Charles Emmanuel I
Duke of Savoy
(1580–1630)
Victor Amadeus I
Duke of Savoy
(1630–1637)
Charles Emmanuel II
Duke of Savoy
(1638–1675)
VICTOR AMADEUS II
Duke of Savoy
(1675–1730)
King of Sardinia
(1720–1730)
CHARLES EMMANUEL III
King of Sardinia
(1730–1773)
VICTOR AMADEUS III
King of Sardinia
(1773–1796)
CHARLES EMMANUEL IV
King of Sardinia
(1796–1802)
VICTOR EMMANUEL I
King of Sardinia
(1802–1821)
CHARLES FELIX
King of Sardinia
(1821–1831)
CHARLES ALBERT
King of Sardinia
(1831–1849)
VICTOR EMMANUEL II
King of Sardinia
(1849–1861)
King of Italy
(1861–1878)
HUMBERT I
King of Italy
(1878–1900)
VICTOR EMMANUEL III
King of Italy
(1900–1946)
HUMBERT II
King of Italy
(1946)

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